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**SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE SILVER JUBILEE
VOLUMES**

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE SILVER JUBILEE VOLUMES

VOL. III
ORIENTALIA—Part 1

यद्यदाचरति येष्टकाचर्द्वेतरौ जनः ।
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकसादनुवर्तते ॥

Bhagavad-Gītā, iii. 21.

To create
Is greater than created to destroy
Paradise Lost, vii.

CALCUTTA

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TO

THE HONOURABLE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, KT., C.S.I.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE SILVER JUBILEE OF HIS ATTAINING

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF LAWS OF THE UNIVERSITY

OF CALCUTTA, THIS VOLUME OF ESSAYS CONTRIBUTED

BY HIS FRIENDS AND ADMIRERS IN INDIA AND

ABROAD IS INSCRIBED WITH AFFECTION,

RESPECT AND GRATITUDE FOR HIS

SPLENDID SERVICES TO THE CAUSE

OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF

LEARNING.

1894-1919

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THE INFLUENCE OF INDIAN ART ON CAMBODIA AND JAVA.¹

DR. A. FOUCHER, D.LITT.,

Professor at the Sorbonne, Paris.

European scholars like to insist upon what they call the "hellenization" of the Nearer East, namely, the spread of Greek, or rather Hellenistic, influence to Egypt and Western Asia, right to the valley of the Euphrates and even—as is shown by the Indo-Greek school of Gandhāra—of the Indus. A fact no less important in the general history of civilization and to which the amount of attention it deserves has not been granted yet, is what we might call the "Indianization" of the Further East, we mean the spread of Indian influence to the countries which still bear the names of Indo-China and Insulinidia. Let me say at once that both movements are so intimately connected together that the second is, at bottom, nothing else than the extension, much along the same lines, of the first. However, we must note from the outset one essential difference. In India, Hellenism was from the first confronted with an already ancient and highly developed civilization, and, as it never had many representatives there, its influence (on the whole a very superficial one) only succeeded in introducing a few scientific notions, especially of an astronomical and medical order, as well as some artistic motives and processes. As far as we can see, Indian ascendancy

¹ The following paper is a summary of four illustrated lectures delivered before the University of Calcutta in December, 1919. Their author is particularly indebted to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for all the trouble Sir Asutosh took in obtaining for him from the Senate the necessary invitation as well as for presiding over every one of the lectures. So it is only meet that this résumé should appear in the present Silver Jubilee Volumes.

in South-Eastern Asia, went much farther. In those fertile deltas and happy islands a fairly large and continuous stream of immigrants seems to have at first encountered only wild naked tribes. To these they brought nothing less than their own sacred language and literature, their customs and laws, their religious creeds and the external forms of their worship. Now do not imagine for a moment that only a missionary religion like Buddhism took advantage of this opportunity of reclaiming new countries. True, when we think of the excommunication which, according to Manu, threatens any Hindu leaving India, especially by sea, we are ready to believe that Hinduism could have had no part in this propaganda. But men are always caught by historians in the very act of belying their principles by their actions; thus it is in practice the sectarian religions of Vishnu and Śiva that we find first and foremost in the countries which the Greek geographers already used to call—and rightly too—"India beyond the Ganges." To sum up, a regular intimation, as close as differences in race and surroundings allowed, of everything Indian, including even the caste system, prevailed in South-Eastern Asia, to such a degree that it was not simply a matter of "influence"; indeed it was, in all the force of the term, a case of "colonization."

Such is the main fact to which I want to draw the attention of the students in this University. It would be worth the while of some aspiring scholar among them to take up this almost untouched subject and attempt to elucidate the still nebulous origins and the gradual formation and extension of what they might call "Greater India." Your distinguished teachers, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and Prof. Ramāprasad Chanda have already set an example and shown you the way. What did the latter do in his interesting book on the *Indo-Aryan Races* but study the Indo-Aryan colonization of Northern India, Hindusthan properly so-called? Whilst the first lecture delivered last year by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in this University, and since published in book-form, was devoted to the "Āryan

Colonization of Southern India and Ceylon." Now these publications may be looked upon as the first chapters of the one I invite you to undertake, the title of which might well be the "Indian Colonization of South-Eastern Asia," meaning especially Cambodia and Champā on the main land and the island of Java. Of course this study would require the application of exactly the same methods, *viz.*, the judicious handling of Indian texts, inscriptions and figurative monuments; and, as most of the Indian influence was brought over by sea to the shores of Further Asia, the book of Prof. R. Mukherjee on *Indian Shipping* may be pointed to, also, as a pioneer work in the same direction. It would be necessary to use too the foreign testimonies of the Greek geographers, like Ptolemaeus and Cosmas Indicopleustes, and of the Chinese pilgrims, like Fa-hien and Yi-tsing: most of these have already been translated into English. Lastly one would have to get acquainted and keep in touch with the work which is being done by Dutch scholars in the Sunda Islands as well as by French ones in Indo-China.

In this connection, a recent example will show how a mutual collaboration often leads to the elucidation of many obscure problems. On an illustrated manuscript from Nepal I happened to read, many years ago, beneath two representations of Avalokiteśvara, the mention of two geographical names, Śrī-vijaya and Kaṭāha: but then I did not understand their significance. Since that time, however, both names have been found, the first, in 1910, by my friend and colleague, M. L. Finot, on an inscription from the Malay Peninsula, and again in 1913, by the lamented Dutch scholar H. Kern, on an inscription from the island of Bangka, in the Malay Archipelago. On the other hand, both names are met with in the inscriptions of the Chōla Dynasty of Southern India: for instance, Rājendra Chōla the First (1012-1042 A.D.) boasts of having made the conquest "beyond the moving seas" of Kaṭāha and Śrī-vijaya. Dr. Hultzsch, who first published these records among the

Inscriptions of Southern India, thought the above-mentioned places were in India; but Mr. Venkayya showed that this interpretation was not compatible with the express mention of a naval expedition, and that Śrī-vijaya and Kaṭāha were to be looked for "somewhere in Indo-China." Lately a young French scholar, M. G. Coedès, by simply bringing together these scattered data and connecting them with an already known passage of the Chinese Annals of the Song Dynasty, has succeeded in establishing beyond doubt that Kaṭāha is the present port of Kedah, in the Malay Peninsula, and Śrī-vijaya the old name of Palembang, in the island of Sumatra. It is now clear that the powerful Chola prince had equipped a fleet and subjected those far-distant kingdoms with which his father, on the contrary, had entertained friendly relations. But that is not what makes Mr. Coedès' discovery (published in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* for 1918) especially welcome to us. If we open the Dutch *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Landen Volkenkunde der Nederlandsch-Indië* for the same year, we read (p. 192) from the pen of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, a former member of your Archaeological Survey, the following remarks: "It is certainly astonishing that in the inscriptions of the Pallavas and other Southern India dynasties no reference whatever is made to the relations which in those days must have existed between Coromandel and the Far-East." Two years ago, the astonishment of Prof. Vogel was perfectly justified; it is no longer so. We actually possess in India epigraphical testimonies of relations, peaceful and otherwise, with the other shore of the Bay of Bengal, and now that the connection has been established on a firm basis, we may hope for still more.

From what I have just said, you may gather that this study will be a work of time and require the collaboration of more than one generation of scholars from the British, Dutch and French Indies, before it can be completely elucidated. Yet the thing which matters most for the present I can do at once,

namely, adduce incontrovertible proofs that I am not inviting you to waste your time on an imaginary subject. Marks of Indian civilization in Cambodia and Java are true historical facts. When I had occasion to visit these two countries, I could not help seeing them on every side; but as you may easily guess, I found them particularly impressed on the architectural monuments and their decorative sculptures. That is the special boon everywhere bestowed by the Fine Arts on historians of civilization. Those productions or simply their photographs, give us at once the hint of, and instantly prove in the most convincing way influences which otherwise would never have been dreamed of, or which it would take years to trace hesitatingly with the sole help of written documents. If into the bargain the edifices and statues I am going to show you possess (as I think they do) a real artistic value, you will have no reason to complain; and as they represent in a more or less modified form the prolongation of your own art, you will understand how I came to take a special interest in them and why I should like, before we approach them, to take a preliminary and rapid survey of the Indian schools.

1. FROM GANDHĀRA TO JAVA.

Of the Western influence on Indian art you have already heard a good deal, and I have no hesitation in admitting that the statement was first given out in a much exaggerated manner, best calculated to wound your legitimate feelings. So I can easily understand that some Indian critics have gone to the other extreme and shown the utmost reluctance to admit any action of the West upon ancient India. In their patriotic enthusiasm they forget that India's true glory lies rather in a different direction, I mean the philosophical and literary lines, and that we could not expect any prominent artistic development in a country the wise men of which did not for the most part believe in the existence of the external world. Moreover it is a fact (and a true scholar must always meekly submit to facts)

that, up to now, no excavation made in Indian soil has given anything to compare, on the score of importance and antiquity with the old monuments of Egypt and Assyria. Whilst Egyptologists and Assyriologists deal with three or four *thousand* years, we Indianists have to be content with three or four *hundred* years B.C. However much we may regret, we cannot help it. No emphatic protest can prevail against the melancholy admission that we do not possess as yet any sure pre-Mauryan monument, and that the most ancient remains preserved to our day already bear some undeniable marks of Western influence. At the same time, I am not prepared to exaggerate the strength of this influence and unduly minimise the part of India's ideal and workmanship in the evolution of her own art. My theory, I am afraid, strikes the middle way between the two extremist ones: so it is likely not to please anybody at all, neither the *scadésist* eager to deny any foreign influence, nor the classicist infatuated with the prejudice of Greek universal superiority. Nay, it is even probable that I shall get blows from both sides. It does not matter. I have not been invited to speak in this seat of learning, purposely instituted for "the advancement of learning," in order to flatter any European or Indian prejudice, either way, but to tell you plainly the lesson which historical facts, actually available, have taught me. Better still, I am going to show you how they taught me, as I do not want you to believe me on my words, but to trust only to the testimony of your own eyes.

Buddhist Iconography.—When we speak of ancient Indian art, we have of course in our mind the oldest art attested to us by the extant remains, namely, the art of Buddhism. Every student of this old school is from the outset somewhat bewildered when he observes that it sedulously represents the biography of the Buddha without representing the Buddha himself. This astonishing but indisputable fact, which is fortunately established, thanks to the inscriptions of the Barhut railing, by the written testimony of the sculptors themselves (otherwise I

am afraid it would have remained perfectly unbelievable), was the starting point of my deductions. I cannot, for my part, explain this strange anomaly except on the assumption that the first productions of Buddhist art must have been the little material souvenirs (something like the *signacula* of mediaeval Europe and our present illustrated post-cards), which the early pilgrims used to bring back from the four great holy places, viz., the sites of the Nativity, the Illumination, the First Predication and the final Death of their Master. These mementoes were, as a matter of course, representations of the characteristic object to which popular devotion was especially directed in the neighbourhood of each of these cities, say the Stûpa of the Great Decease near Kuśinagara, the Wheel of the Law near Benares, the Tree of the Sambodhi near Bodh-Gaya, and so on. Owing to a constant association of ideas and images those hieroglyphic symbols of the Tree, the Wheel and the Tumulus came to be regarded as figurative representations of the greatest miracles of the Buddha and were, as such, everywhere reproduced in indefinite numbers. In course of time it became a custom—and in India a custom soon becomes a rule—that to represent any scene from the Master's life the proper thing was to do what had always been done, that is to evoke him simply by the sight of some quasi-heraldic emblem. And therefore on the Barhut as well as the Sāñchî bas-reliefs his throne ever remains vacant.

Then the hellenized sculptors of the North-West, strangers to the tradition of Central India, came on the scene and, creating at a stroke the Indo-Greek type of the Buddha, completely revolutionized Buddhist Art. Henceforth the Seat of the Blessed One is never shown empty, be he reaching Illumination or preaching and converting men and gods. We may even see him either springing into life, or walking along on his daily quest, or lying on his death-bed. Now, you will readily believe that the prohibition of the figure of the protagonist from the scenes of his own biography, a revered

legacy from the past though it was, seemed a very awkward rule to the artists as well to the donors of later India. So we understand that the straightforward and explicit Graeco-Buddhist pictures were greeted with general approval and promptly supplanted everywhere the clumsy cryptic scenes of the old school. Nowhere more clearly than on the sculptures of Amarāvati do we detect and follow the gradual replacing of the traditional compositions by the new ones, till on the Gupta steles from Benares we find every episode treated according to the Gandhāran formula.² Nor were these new models destined to win their way in India only: for centuries later and thousands of miles further, they spread all over Eastern Asia: as the Cambodian and Javanese bas-reliefs, on the one side, and the Central-Asian and Sino-Japanese paintings on the other may show anybody who cares to make himself acquainted with them or their reproductions.

The Buddha's Type.—For people who would shrink before this somewhat complicated task, there is another and much simpler way of following this same stream of Western influence from Gandhāra to the Far-East. It consists in tracing step by step the triumphant progress of the truest representative of the Gandhāra school—its trade-mark as it were—I mean the Indo-Greek type of the Buddha's image, from its native country to the far-distant islands of the Pacific Ocean. Of course I should have volumes to tell you about its origins: but as these volumes already are or will soon be printed, I shall confine myself to-day to reminding you of three main points. Historically, the first known images of the Buddha were executed by some hellenized sculptors for the prosperous Buddhist community of the North-West Frontier during the first century B.C., that is at a time when the schools of Central India were still abiding by the old customary rule of representing the Blessed One by mere symbols. Artistically, this school

² For illustration of the above statements see in *Beginnings of Buddhist Art, etc.*, the synoptic tables, II-III

being both foreign and local, occidental and oriental features are so indissolubly blended together in this mixture of Apollo and the Mahāpurusha that it is as much an Indian as a Greek production, and those people who indulge in disparaging it are heedlessly flogging Europe on the back of India. Iconographically, as could be expected of an image created by half-foreign artists, it is not at all an orthodox one, but a no less hybrid combination of a monastic-gowned *deva*, and an unshaven-headed *bhikṣu*, practically made of god's head, minus the jewels, placed on the body of a monk.³

We are not so much concerned to-day with the Indo-Greek formation as with the Indian and Indo-Chinese transformations of the Buddha's type. That this original creation of the Graeco-Buddhist Monk-god did answer equally well by its exceptional character the needs of iconography, and by its dreamy beauty the artistic aspirations of the Buddhist devotees, was proved by the result all over Eastern Asia. But I do not want you to believe that it has always and everywhere remained exactly the same. On the contrary, as a living type, it was bound to change, and in fact it underwent two gradual alterations. Curiously enough the first of those concerns the unorthodox detail of the hair. The Buddhist donors could not well admit the existence of this bunchy chignon on the head of the founder of a strictly-shaven order. On the other hand, the classically educated artists had from the first refused to shave the head of a "Great Being," who was already looked upon by his devotees as a "god above gods" (*devātideva*). Both parties soon came to a kind of compromise and agreed that the Buddha should keep his hair, but that, instead of remaining long and wavy, it should become short and curly; moreover the curls should all turn towards the right, exactly as it is written in the sacred texts about the marks of the infant-Buddha. Of course, of this convention we know only the result: but to see this modification in the making we have

³ On these points, see *Beginnings*, pl XI-XVI.

simply to use our eyes. Being at once both the most interesting part of a statue and the easiest to remove from the ruined sites, heads form the most numerous class of remains in public and private collections. Take a series of Gandhāra heads and you will perceive how the once supple treatment of the undulating hair becomes stiffer and stiffer, and more and more conventional, till the woolly curls begin to peep, and finally arrange themselves in regular rows all over the crown of the Buddhas. Henceforward this will be the rule in Mathurā as in Benares, in Ajantā as in Magadha, in Cambodia as in Java: and that may help you to understand how at the dawn of Indianist studies, some European scholars could seriously entertain the idea that the Buddha was a negro by birth.

If now, instead of heads, we were to arrange a line of statues in chronological and topographical order, we should remark, concurrently with the change in the head-dress, a corresponding modification in the treatment of the monastic gown. Just as Indian orthodoxy objected to the wavy chignon of the Graeco-Buddhist Buddha, Indian taste rebelled against the deep and flowing draperies of his robes. In Gandhāra, where they have a real winter (you know how people shiver in Bengal at the mere idea of the Peshawar cold weather), they wore woollen clothes, and this local custom may have favoured the introduction of the Greek style of drapery. Even there, on some late and debased images, the folds of the dress become as much schematized as the waves of the chignon. You will find them still more attenuated in the Mathurā school. In Madhyadesa or Bengal and in the still hotter and damper climate of South-Eastern Asia, the cotton cloth or muslin in general use sticks to the Buddha's body and moulds it in a most transparent way. So much so that even the hem of the monastic cloak hardly retains its free classical lines.

Such are the two main alterations we can detect in the evolution of the Buddha's type. I need scarcely remark that they are on the whole superficial ones, and that the type

remains, in every time and country, singularly true to itself. Indeed it was preserved much better than the doctrine. We meet side by side in Indo-China two kinds of Buddhism, the one imported to Cambodia from Ceylon in relatively modern times, the other brought to Annam through the long *détour* of Central Asia and China. When they meet again in Saïgon, I may tell you from personal experience they would never recognize each other, except for the fact that they worship practically identical images of their Master. Such a striking likeness supposes at the origin of all these idols the existence of a common prototype. Nay, the plainest result of our enquiry is that every Cambodian or Javanese Buddha, sooner or later, in a close or remote way, goes ultimately back through the Indian ones to the first historically attested images, that is to those excavated on your North-Western Frontier. In as much as what we have just done for Lower Asia we could do as well for Upper Asia also and there again we could follow the same type from Gandhāra right to the Land of the Rising Sun, we come to recognize in it the authentic ancestor of all the idols of the Blessed One still enthroned in every Buddhist pagoda.

The Indian Pantheon.—For the general public these extensive conquests of the Graeco-Buddhist Buddha remain the most convincing proof, as well as the easiest to examine, of the Indian and even Indo-Greek influence over the Far-East. But our evidence, even thus restricted to artistic monuments, is still far from being exhausted. After the scenes from the Buddha's lives, after the Buddha's images, we may still adduce in support of our demonstration many other personages, who accompanied or even preceded the Blessed One into Indo-China and Insulindia. Let us simply mention the princely type of the Bodhisattva, or the more homely figures of this popular couple of genii, givers of riches and posterity, or later on numerous images of *tāntric* deities. Nor is the Buddhist pantheon alone represented in those countries. In the Museum

of Phnom-Penh or in that of Batavia, as on the walls of the temples of Angkor or on those of Parambanan, we meet all the principal Hindu gods, and even their traditional *vahanas*. Why insist any longer? You are already satisfied that the subject I propose to your attention is not a fancy of mine, but a historical reality which only requires a more careful study: and so the object of this introduction may be considered as fulfilled. Those whose scientific curiosity or artistic interest has been awakened may safely go to Java and Cambodia; they are sure to be shown there monuments which are not only quite worth the journey, but are decorated with Indian deities and legends and make a direct appeal to Indian hearts and minds.

II. BORO-BUDUR (JAVA).

Let us land right in the middle of the island of Java, the earthly paradise of the austral hemisphere. How beautiful it is, you will more easily realize when I tell you that in luxuriance of vegetation and in grandeur of scenery, it surpasses Ceylon. However, we do not go there to gaze at the landscape, but to study the most obvious aspects—that is the artistic ones—of the influence India once exercised over Java. Of these artistic aspects we shall to-day concern ourselves with the Buddhist ones only. That does not imply that there were no Brahmanical temples in Java: on the contrary many of them are still extant, and one, in Parambanan, is decorated with a long frieze representing the story of the *Rāmāyana*. We must even confess that the kind of civilization first brought over from India to Java had scarcely a smack of Buddhism. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who stayed for five months in the island, at the beginning of the 5th century A. D., is compelled to own that “various forms of errors and Brahmanism are flourishing there, whilst Buddhism is not worth speaking of...”; and it is very unlikely that the monk-prince from Kashmir who is said to have won Java to the Buddhist faith, succeeded in converting the whole or even the larger part of it.

The Dutch scholars are of opinion that, up to the advent of the Musulmans the bulk of the population were Śivaists—let us rather say so-called Śivaists—as is still the case in the only island of the Malay Archipelago which has preserved something of the old state of things, viz. Bali. This enables us to understand the exceptional character and the relatively late date of the famous stūpa of Boro-Budur, which is ascribed to the 9th century A.D. Isolated and late as it is, it remains nevertheless one of the artistic marvels of the world, as the world will perceive some day when, at last, it has knowledge and leisure enough to take a proper inventory of its artistic heritage. It throws the other Javanese monuments so much in the shade that we shall feel no compunction in entirely devoting to it the short time at our disposal.

The stūpa and its decoration.—I have had occasion elsewhere to discuss at some length the true character of this justly famous building. It must be conceded that at first sight, in spite of its enormous size (its lower terrace forms a square of 360 feet on each side) its aspect is somewhat disappointing, as it does not seem to have been able to make up its mind to be either conical, pyramidal, or hemispherical. The sight of its silhouette against the evening sky and the study of its plan and elevation soon make clear the principles underlying its construction. Its main lines are all curves and the initial scheme of the clever architect responsible for its design assigned to it from the outset the general form of a segment of a sphere. That means to say that, as far as possible, he remained faithful to the old Indian formula of the "air bubble on water." At the same time, to provide room for the sculptural decoration and make it readily accessible, he cut horizontally this dome-like structure by no less than five polygonal and three circular galleries, connected together by staircases at the four cardinal points. Lastly in the 432 niches and 72 small cupolas which border these promenades and somewhat relieve the unavoidable massiveness of the building,

he managed to shelter an equal number of statues. On the whole it cannot be denied that he turned to advantage the structural formula which he had inherited from the ancient tradition of India. Yet the most interesting fact for us is that he felt bound to abide by it.

However a *stūpa* or tumulus can never be a very great architectural success. The true pride of Boro-Budur lies in the 500 or more images and 2,000 bas-reliefs which decorated it, and which for the greater part still remain *in situ*. From the first the testimony of the statues established the sectarian character of the monument which owes them its very name: "the many Buddhas." As to the bas-reliefs, the first to be identified were among those decorating in two superposed rows of 120 panels each the main wall of the first gallery. The upper series, as we know now quite well, represents in the order of the *pradakṣiṇā* and according to the Sanskrit text of the *Lalitā-vistara*, the last life of Śākyamuni, from his descent from the Tūṣita heaven to his First Predication. The lower one unrolls some ten stories of his previous existences, while on the opposite parapet a whole collection of *jātakas* are depicted in about 400 panels of smaller dimensions. If we were to walk round the other galleries, we should equally see Buddhas, monks, nuns, Bodhisattvas of both sexes filing past by the score. In short there is not an idol or a scene in the niches or on the walls of Boro-Budur which is not borrowed from the legend or the Pantheon of Indian Buddhism.*

A Javanese plea.—Such is the undisputed fact of which we must try accurately to gauge the consequences. Let us be frank with ourselves: the first conclusion at which we are likely to jump is that the Buddhist art of Java is nothing but an offshoot of that of India and owes everything to its influence. Of course I am not prepared to deny there is much truth in that assertion: but does it not go too far, if not even astray, and are we not doing to the Javanese the same wrong that

* See *Beginnings*, etc., pl XXII and XXI-XLIII.

some European critics did to your own ancestors, when they stoutly declared that Indian art was the free gift of foreign artists to an utterly untalented country? Not being uninjured, it becomes you not to be injurious in the same way to other innocent people. We must pause and consider under what limitations we may speak of the undeniable influence of your old religious art on that of Insulindia. For my part I can very well imagine what a Javanese *scudélist*—if there were any—would reply to *your* Western pretensions:

“Please do stop all this nonsense (so he would say) about your Indian influence. I do not see anything in these Boro-Budur bas-reliefs which is not purely Javanese. Dresses, arms, implements, vehicles, buildings, trees, animals—even these very poor horses, so badly drawn because they were ever scarce in our island, whilst all familiar animals are so cleverly sketched from life—everything in fact seems to me quite ‘Malay,’ as local indeed as the coarse volcanic stone which did not prevent our sculptors from making their masterpieces.

“And that is not all. The most casual observer must recognize that a particularly quiet spirit and sense of repose pervades all these sculptures. Even when our artists, as they often had to, treat subjects imposed upon all Buddhists by religious tradition, they deliberately avoid any scene of violence such as were commonly offered to them by their so-called Indian models. Let us take two instances among scores of others. There is a famous *jātaka* in which the future Buddha, born as the King of the Śibis in North-Western India, ransomed a dove from a hawk at the price of an equal weight of his own flesh. Of course I admit this is an Indian story, which moreover has been depicted all over Asia: but in Boro-Budur you do not see as you do in Gandhāra, Mathurā or Amarāvati, not to speak of the wall-paintings of Chinese Turkestan, either the Bodhisattva himself cutting his own thigh or an executioner laying a reluctantly obedient hand upon his Master to strip his limbs of their flesh. Such a horrible spectacle would have

jarred too strangely in the calm atmosphere of our galleries. For the same reason, when our artists have to represent the famous wrestling match of the Bodhisattva with the young Śakyas, they simply depict him standing motionless in face of them: so strong and inveterate was their abhorrence of any undue gesticulation.

"And not only do they conceive the same scenes in a characteristically different manner, but they also compose altogether new scenes, which have no known counterpart on Indian monuments. Where, for instance, will you meet in India, except on the rather poor frieze which decorates the front of Cave I at Ajantā, the "four great sorties" of the Bodhisattva? Or where will you see him, when an accomplished Buddha, cross the Ganges in a miraculous way after the ferryman had denied him a place in his boat? Or try and show me Indian replicas of the illustrations here dedicated by the score either to the fairy tales of the princes Sudhana and Māndhātā, or to the pseudo-historic legend of Rudrāyana, though these stories were borrowed from the Sanskrit text of the *Dīrṅgarādāna*? Nay, show me anywhere except in Java itself these magnificent and continuous biographical series executed from an especially selected book and according to a plan prescribed beforehand to the sculptors? In short, your Indian merchants and missionaries assuredly brought to my native island your religions, your sacred literature, and perhaps a few statues of gods. This separate personal estate of yours gave us the hint, I admit, to compose our images and furnished the subject-matter for our unparalleled series of bas-reliefs: but our national genius did all the rest."

An Indian rejoinder.—That is what our Malay friend would probably say, if *scadetiism* in matter of art were the fashion in Java, which it is not as yet. Of course you know better. Were he as familiar as you are with the Indian Buddhas, he would at once recognize in the Javanese one,

with the curled hair and smooth garments, the exact counterpart of the Gupta images, and the direct descendant, through these, of the Gandhāran prototype. For the Boro-Budur bas-reliefs also you could readily accept the challenge of your local contradictor. True, the form of the large panels, which are about three times as wide as they are high, compels the sculptors to spread out the cortege of their hero and to cover the wall with plenty of dumb assistants. But either in the middle or in one of the corners of these crowded and picturesque scenes, a trained eye traces at once what we might call the nucleus of the story, and in most cases this presents the same arrangement of personages as in the old Buddhist or even Graeco-Buddhist models. Which Javanese patriot could make us believe that the perusal of the same books was sufficient for artists so far divided by time and space to evolve the same compositions? Moreover he forgets altogether that there are laws in art as well as in nature. To say nothing of the use of narrative bas-reliefs in the decoration of a monument or of the introduction in sculpture of pictorial accessories, the power of showing personages "three-quarters" and of making them move and turn, in a word the knowledge of foreshortening, was not invented twice. Alone Greek artists discovered it, and this technical secret of their trade could only come to Java with Buddhist iconography.

A summing up.—So there is no doubt that our Javanese friend—sympathize as we may with his pardonable national pride—is quite wrong at the bottom, if he denies Indian and even Graeco-Indian influence on Javanese art. But he is often right on the surface, if I may say so, and there is much for us to remember in his protest. We feel quite convinced that his fellow-countrymen had their lesson taught them by some Indian artists; but we must concede that they learned it uncommonly well. It is perfectly true that they were quite able to illustrate for their own account special episodes or even long stories of which we do not know any Indian version. Of

course it may be said they could not very well do otherwise, when they had so many vacant panels to fill on the interminable walls of Boro-Budur; but the fact remains they did it very cleverly. Now this cleverness and daring, joined to the extraordinary quality of their workmanship—I have seen myself one of our best French sculptors struck with admiration before their bas-reliefs—go very far to prove that artistically speaking they were not—such disinherited people. The task of the future archaeologists, we can already see it clearly, will be to measure to a nicety, on the one hand the contribution of Indian influence, on the other the share of local originality.

Here we are touching again on the subject of foreign influence: but perhaps one of the results of our present visit to Java will be to lead us to a better understanding of this somewhat vexed question. Thorough-going people who think that if they do not deny it absolutely, their national *izzat* is utterly lost, are simply fighting against wind-mills. There is no country in the world, not even China, where foreign influence did not penetrate, in spite of any enclosing Great Wall; there is not a single art (at least in historical times), not even the Greek one, which remained completely free from any external impulse. Please keep this simple fact in your minds, whenever you hear people talking at random about this chimaera of an Indian art, grown up in a fenced garden shut against any wind blowing from the West. You cannot keep out the wind and the seeds it brings with it, and it would be a pity if you did. The only thing which really matters is the way those seeds thrive on their new ground, or, in other terms, the manner in which the new climatic conditions modify them. Now, exactly as Greece reacted against the teaching of Egypt or Assyria, so did India react against the Hellenistic influence; and the result was that with the help of a foreign technique she was able to realize her own ideal and to evolve her beautiful classical art of the Gupta period. Even so Java reacted in her turn, though more feebly, against Indian influence and

developed, within the bounds of her natural skill and taste, a certain amount of originality. That is precisely why this stroll in the galleries of Boro-Budur is for us doubly interesting, first for the sake of meeting again so many old Indian acquaintances, and secondly for the pleasure of finding them so nicely transformed and so completely adapted to their new surroundings.

III. ANGKOR (CAMBODIA).

If now we pass from Insulindia to Indo-China, we find that the same conditions just witnessed in Java equally prevailed in ancient Cambodia. Here too up to the Middle Ages, as is demonstrated by numerous inscriptions and monuments, the Sanskrit language and literature were known, society was based on the caste system, and—officially at least—Hindu creeds ruled supreme all over the land. But while on Javanese soil the most gorgeous edifice is undoubtedly Buddhist, the largest and most magnificently decorated Cambodian temples are Brahmanical ones. So we will not allow ourselves to be disturbed by the fact that the present population of the country is almost entirely Buddhist. As in Mahomedan Java circumstances led us to study especially the ancient penetration of Buddhism, in Buddhist Cambodia we find ourselves particularly well situated to search for a solution to the problem of the introduction of the Hindu sectarian religions. I need scarcely repeat that the latter question is much more delicate than the first one. Buddhist monks were born travellers and missionaries, whilst it seems a paradox to speak of Brahmans bringing oversea to far-distant countries the very Code of Manu which forbids them any sea-voyage. All the same such was the case, and perhaps the study of the monuments will bring us nearer the answer to this enigma.

True, people who are supposed to know would tell us at once that we must not entertain too sanguine hopes on that point, as the existence of the monuments themselves is another

standing enigma. Such is the contrast between the grandeur of those stone temples or palaces and the meanness of the neighbouring cottages or pagodas, between the extraordinary amount of artistic skill which has been lavished upon those sumptuous foundations and the utter incapacity of the modern inhabitants even to keep them in good repair, that the first visitors, in their amazement at finding such architectural wonders lost in the middle of deserted jungles, jumped at the idea that they were the remains of a long forgotten empire. Even now, as soon as you land in Saigon or Phnom-Penh, many Europeans will volunteer to tell you the wildest stories about the stupendous antiquity and the mysterious origins of the most famous among Cambodian ruins, those of Angkor. Nor can you rely upon the Buddhist monks to give you any kind of trustworthy information about places where they still go on worshipping as their ancestors did. In fact the only thing they have to say—but on this point they are most unanimous and positive—is that Angkor was built in a single night by the genii. Now that is an assertion which was already heard in India, centuries ago, about the Aśoka palace at Patna, but which—for a critical mind—is rather hard to believe. So our French scholars set to work, and I may as well recapitulate at once for your use the main facts they have been able to gather from local Sanskrit inscriptions and Chinese testimonies.

Towards the beginning of the Christian era, we must still imagine the lower valley of the great river later on called Mekhong (by a mispronunciation of the name of your Mother-Gaṅgā) as covered with immense marshes and forests in which lived uncivilized people, quite analogous to the wild tribes still haunting the Indian as well as the Indo-Chinese hills. To those savage sons of the land Indian adventurers and merchants brought what we are pleased to call the benefits of civilization. Those are, as everybody knows, for a people still close to nature, a kind of medicine somewhat bitter to swallow

and which one has at first to force upon them. Chinese historians give a vivid account, evidently accurate, of the foundation in that part of Indo-China of the first Indian kingdom, which they call Fou-Nan. The Indian hero landed, they say, from a mere trade-junk; but he had a bow of marvellous power—exactly as the Spanish Conquistadors had their thundering firelocks. The queen of the land gallantly came to oppose him at the head of her army; but at the very first arrow shot by the invader, they all began to tremble and immediately made their submission. A wise politician, our hero married the queen, whose name was “Willow-leaf.” It is reported that the first words he addressed to her were: “My dear, I wish you would not go about stark naked.” This detail may give you an idea of the state of wilderness still prevailing in the country. Yet, owing to Indian leadership, Fou-Nan soon became prosperous and dominated most of the peninsula. In the 6th century, one of the vassal kingdoms, Kambuja, rebelled and became in its turn suzerain over what is now Cambodia, Laos and Siam. From the Sanskrit inscriptions, deciphered by M. Barth, M. Bergaigne and M. Senart, we are able to reconstitute, through the bombastic phraseology of their Indian scribes, the geneology of these Kings, whose names, according to the custom of the contemporaneous Pallava dynasty, all ended in *varman*. From the 9th to the 13th century the soil of Cambodia became covered with numerous Hindu shrines, so numerous indeed that the “Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient,” upon which are incumbent, among other duties, those of your own Archaeological Survey, has already drawn up a list of more than 800 historical monuments. Of course, I shall not undertake to enumerate them. They crowd themselves especially on the north of the vast lake, called by the natives the Tonle-Sap, the “Fresh-Water Sea.” There stood the old capital of the kingdom of Kambuja, called “Nagar,” i.e., the “City” *par excellence*, which the Cambodians mispronounce “Angkor.” Its imposing enceinte

encloses several large ruins, and is moreover surrounded by many other more or less dilapidated buildings. We shall visit, to begin with, the most southern and best preserved of the "group," that is Angkor-Vat.

Angkor-Vat.—The 'Temple of the City'—for such is the meaning of that name—displays a series of rectangles inserted one inside the other, and the regularity of this vast plan is likely to please the Indian as well as the French taste. The rectangular ditch which makes it an island and could have made it a fortress, is more than 200 yards wide and three and a half miles long. On the principal façade (looking, by exception, to the West), a kind of portico, 250 yards long, gives access through its central tower to a stone causeway, the prolongation of the bridge which crosses the ditch; and this causeway leads through a large park, between rectangular tanks, to the main entrance of the edifice. This again consists of three rectangular galleries encased in one another, the outer one measuring externally 204 by 235 yards. All of them are vaulted by corbelling, i.e., by laying horizontal courses of stones, each slightly overlapping the lower one, till at last both sides meet at the summit. In this system of vaulting, which has the great advantage of being very stable, but the great drawback of allowing only a very short span (hence the long and narrow character of these galleries), you recognize at once the process in use in ancient India. Nor can the succession of those rectangular enceintes but remind you of the plan of every Dravidian temple. Only, in Southern India, each outer enclosure—generally added as an after-thought, when the popularity of the temple was outgrowing its former dimensions—shuts from view the inner ones; with Angkor-Vat, built from top to bottom according to a definite plan, the case is quite different. A judicious use of the earth excavated from the ditch and tanks, makes the two inner galleries rise in tiers, while the centre of each stepped terrace slightly recedes on the middle axis towards the back face. The result of these two

clever devices is to make the general effect much more imposing. The summit of the central tower finally reaches a height of 180 feet above the level of the first flag-stones, some 80 feet more than the present pinnacle of Boro-Budur. Under this tower, at the meeting point of all the avenues and staircases of the edifice, once dwelt the deity to which it was dedicated. But when the French archaeologists first arrived, they found four idols of the Buddha seated against the four walled-up doors of the cella and, inside the latter only shapeless fragments of the old statue. Yet it is quite certain that this was the image of a Hindu god, and quite probable this god was Vishnu, or rather the king who founded the temple in the 11th century A.D., deified under the name of *paramavisnuloka*. It was to perpetuate the memory of this potentate that thousands of coolies, recruited among his subjects, tried to realize the genial conception of an Indian architect, or at any rate of some builder trained at the school of the great architects of Southern India.

If there is any doubt left in your mind on this point, a glance at the decoration of the temple will at once dispel it. But here, I must confess, it is the turn of Boro-Budur, architecturally so inferior to Angkor-Vat, to assert its superiority. The Cambodian sculptors cannot vie in skilful workmanship with their Javanese brothers-in-trade. Both gangs did their work *in situ*, on the walls already built and jointed without any apparent mortar, and both had for leading principle not to leave any available surface uncarved; but while the Javanese artists, not disheartened by the coarse grain of their volcanic "andesite," drew from it high-reliefs of an astounding depth and freedom, the Cambodian ones only managed to chisel in a rather shallow way their fine sand-stone, so tender when fresh from the quarry, hardening afterwards and susceptible of such a high polish. A curious result of their inferiority is that, though their work at Angkor-Vat is two centuries later in date, by a curious case of artistic regression, it looks more

archaic than the Boro-Budur sculptures. However, what interests us for the moment is less the execution than the subject-matter of the decoration, less the ornamental motives than the narrative scenes. These especially cover the outer side of the main wall of the first gallery almost from top to bottom, with a height of two yards and a length of more than 900 yards if we reckon the corner-pavillion at each angle. Now what we find depicted there (not in panels this time, but on long continuous bas-reliefs which look rather like stone frescoes or tapestry) is the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivamśa*, in a word all your national epics. After interminable battle-scenes, first between the Kauravas and the Pandavas, then between the monkey allies of Rāma and the Rāksasa soldiers of Rāvaṇa, last between the Devas and the Asuras, a rather peaceful scene makes a welcome change. It represents along the second half of the Eastern gallery the event which, according to your religious tradition, is at the bottom of the gods' quarrel with the demons, viz., the churning of the Milk Ocean. Further on, when continuing your *pradakṣiṇā* you enter the Southern gallery and see depicted in two superposed tiers, separated by a frieze of Garuḍas, the delights of heaven above and the torments of hell below—the infernal tortures being of course much more variegated than the heavenly joys—you are bound to recognize at once your own old popular conceptions. If by chance you demurred, then I should simply point out to you the Sanskrit names of each compartment of this Inferno inscribed on the stone.

Thus no more in Angkor-Vat than in Boro-Budur can there be any question about the essentially Indian character of the decoration. But interesting as the ascertainment of this fact may be for our purpose, it does not help us much to explain the transplanting of all these beliefs and legends into the wilds of Cambodia. Epic and religious lore does not constitute as a rule the baggage of adventurers or the stock-in-trade of merchants. It is only when we come to the

second half of the Southern gallery that we find at last a realistic and historical subject instead of a legendary or mythological one. There we see first the king founder of Angkor-Vat seated in the middle of his court, and later attending the march-past of his army. Each battalion of the latter is headed by its leader, one of the king's great vassals, standing on an elephant in a somewhat swaggering posture. Now do not think I am allowing my imagination to run riot: the title of these high dignitaries are written down close to them on the wall. I must own those warriors leave the impression that their varnish of civilization was very thin indeed. Then, of a sudden, we meet the most curious group of all: big strapping fellows, clothed in a very scanty way, their hair done in a high chignon and tied with a rosary. Whosoever has visited India immediately recognizes in them those Brahmanical ascetics or *sādhus*, still so numerous now-a-days and so much honoured by country-people. The inscriptions give them the name of "paṇḍits" and add besides it is the *rājahotar*, "the royal sacrificer," whom they carry along in a palankeen, to an accompaniment of gongs and bells. Now we were just wondering what kind of missionaries they were, who brought over to Cambodia the creeds of India, its sacred language and literature, and its *dharma-sāstras*, to begin with the Mānava one. Let us not wonder any more: here they stand in front of us. In their zeal for the welfare of their newly adopted country and for the establishment of the caste system, some of these self-confessed paṇḍits, fresh arrived from India, consented even to forget their racial pride and their ascetic vows, and to marry either a daughter or a sister of the king, and, of course, to accept plenty of villages as their wife's dowry. The inscriptions do not blush to tell us now and again this by no means edifying tale: and so we shall not be oversurprised that some descendants of those paṇḍits are still living in Cambodia under the name of *Baku*, and still enjoy the traditional privileges of the Brahmans, viz., exemption

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from taxes and, in case of crime, from capital punishment. Even now they are still wanted, in preference and precedence to the Buddhist monks, for court ceremonies, especially for the coronation of the king. Shall I add that this coronation remains a real *abhiṣeka* with plenty of shower-baths, as represented on the paintings of Ajantā; that till lately the king of Cambodia had an *uparāja* (obārāch), as every self-respecting rāja in the *Jātaka* stories; and that when you see the female dancers of the royal palace performing a dramatic representation of some *Rāmāyaṇa* legend, you feel you have gone back to pre-Mahomedan times? Not only the old Cambodia of more than a thousand years ago, not only the Cambodia visited at the end of the 13th century by the Chinese traveller Tcheou-ta Kouan, but even the modern one is still full of Indian traditions and customs. Nay, I dare say it has remained in many ways more Indian, I mean more like old-fashioned India, than your modernized Bengal.

Angkor-Thom.—Thus we could, if necessary, rest content with this rapid visit to the “Temple of the City.” But what about the neighbouring City of Angkor-Thom, Angkor the Great, as it is called? Would not a glance at its ruins have something to teach us too, and give us a better understanding of Indian antiquities? Let us enter one of the five gates (there were two on the Eastern side and one on each of the others, which gave admittance to the interior of the old enceinte—a square, each side of which is more than two miles long. The causeway crossing the wide ditch was once lined with a wonderful railing, made of 54 genii, gigantic and terrible, all kneeling and striving to check and detain in their arms the body of a five-headed cobra. The gate itself is surmounted by four huge human faces, stern or placid, staring at the four cardinal points: and this strange feature is found again on the fifty towers of the Bayon temple, built right in the centre of the Capital, and which, less classical than Angkor-Vat and its elder by two centuries, seems to be the masterpiece of a more

original genius. Here too, the walls of the galleries are carved all over with bas-reliefs, most of which (I am sorry to say) represent only battle-scenes either on land or on the waters of the Great Lake. Nor is the Bayon the only decorated stone monument to be found inside the enceinte of the town. We must at least name the "Aerial Palace" of the Pimeanakās (Sanskrit: *ākāśa-vimāna*), in which the Cambodian kings once held their splendid court, and its long terraces supported by standing Garuḍas or decorated with hunting scenes on almost life-size elephants. It must be said at once that the first European visitors found these buildings almost turned into crumbling heaps and all but completely buried under the moving shroud of the tropical forest. In fact, but for the surrounding ditch and the stone ruins. Every trace of the old city had completely disappeared.

What had happened to it, you will perhaps ask? Simply this. In the 14th century, when the Siamese invasion came, Angkor-Thom was deserted by its inhabitants: and at once eternal nature reasserted itself and set out to destroy the works of transient man. The thatched cottages of the lower classes, and even the dwellings of the upper ones, including the largest part of the superstructures of the palaces, in a word all that was built of wood and had been spared by fire soon fell a prey to the damp heat and to white ants. At the same time a deadly fight went on, and is still going on, between the stone edifices and the forest. I should give up every attempt at describing this multifarious and truceless struggle between the sly patience of the vegetation and the brutish passivity of the stone, if as in the epic battles the general mêlée did not subdivide itself into a multiplicity of particular wrestlings. The beginnings of this merciless duel are prosaic enough. In the hollow of a pediment or on the summit of a tower, some dust brought by the wind during the dry season settles down and accumulates. In this earth a seed falls, the gift of some bird, and with the first shower of the rainy season it germinates

and grows. The monsoon is not over before it is already a shrub and its radicals have become roots. The latter lengthen, grope about, blindly creep into the minutest crevices, then slowly swell, and under their irresistible thrust lift up and dislocate the heaviest blocks. With the passing years, an enormous fig-tree, sometimes two yards in diameter, rises on the vault or tower and encloses it in a net of roots, similar to the tentacles of an octopus, and some of which have been found to measure fifty yards in length. Oscillating with the wind, this formidable lever completely shakes the edifice to its very foundations, till at last both fall down at the same blow.

Thus the tropical forest was getting the upper hand on all these monuments and it was high time indeed, that the French archaeologists, axe in hand, should come to their rescue. But we must not overlook the fact that the lamentable fate of these edifices is due in great part to the unskilfulness of their builders. The foreign designer was most clever and, in this new country, his genius worked unimpeded; but the local coolies were very bad masons. For want of trained overseers, they did not even take the trouble of breaking the joints of the stones, but put them perpendicularly one above the other, so that a single root working in a straight line can cut a tower into two slices. No wonder that the Khmer people (Khmer is the name Cambodians give themselves), when driven to the South by the Thai invaders, soon forgot everything about stone building. All their modern pagodas are wooden constructions, pillared and surmounted by sloping roofs with curved corners in the Siamese or Burmese style; and it is only lately that, under the directions of French architects, they have tried to revive in Phnom-Penh and realize anew in bricks some of the features of their old sandstone monuments.

Such is the way art may sink to decay: but let us turn away from that sad spectacle and draw, as is our custom, the moral of our sight-seeing. The first obvious remark is that those petty Khmer Kings did well for their memory to build

in stone and to write on stone—the only material, besides gold, which lasts in the tropics. They could well claim apotheosis after death, like Roman emperors but for their inscribed temples we should have never taken the trouble of remembering them. As things stand, we cannot help being impressed by the striking parallelism between the bringing over to India, by the Graeco-Persian craftsmen hired by Aśoka—and to Cambodia, by the Indian craftsmen who went over the sea to make their fortune at the Court of the Khmer Kings—of the architectural and sculptural use of stone. History is really here somewhat repeating itself, and the immediate result has been in both cases to inaugurate, I will not say the art, but at any rate the archaeology of the country. Here, however, the parallelism stops short. Need I repeat how different the circumstances were and how different the results? India had already developed a civilization of her own, and had much to say, through the new artistic medium offered to her, which had never been said elsewhere before. The development of Hindu and Buddhist arts went on for centuries, and the national ideal had all the necessary time to disengage itself from the foreign influence and bring forth its own proper expression. Such was not the case with the Khmer people: uncivilized as they were, they were only able to execute, as best they could—and you have seen that it does not mean over well—the plans of their Indian architects, exactly as they try to do now, when they build iron bridges on behalf of French engineers. They were much too backward to profit by their lessons, to take up the art in their turn and start some new and original creation; in short they were never able to fly on their own wings. That is why even the most durable results of their intercourse with the West were bound to perish and disappear completely in the course of a few centuries, and we may consider ourselves very lucky to have inherited some at least of those magnificent monuments. Yet their ruinous condition is not such as

might hinder our present conclusions. Whatever their ultimate fate, the monuments are still there, and they are, as you have seen, pervaded by Indian influence. Like Java, Cambodia supplies us with standing proofs of the main fact we wanted from the beginning to establish, that the same Western wind, for good or bad, carried the same artistic seed from one end of Asia to the other.

CONCLUSIONS.

Shall I sketch briefly, before we part, how in the light of this hasty survey the history of art, and especially of Buddhist art, in the East Indies must appear to us? I need hardly say again that, in prehistoric times, India must have had an art of some sort or other. Even savages have, and India was a civilized country long before the advent of Alexander or Cyrus. But then, of this art, we possess so far absolutely nothing: and that is just the chance of its zealots. Where is faith more at ease than in the region of the unknown? As Indian art, previous to Asoka, is historically a blank sheet of paper, archaeologically an empty show-case, some people feel at liberty to blacken the one and fill the other according to their own fancy. If they are pleased to say that, long before the times of the Greeks and the Persians, India possessed an art rivalling those of Egypt and Assyria, what right have we to deny it? We do not know more than they do themselves about it, and they can always say that to-morrow new discoveries may bring about the justification of their theories. Every one must admit—as for my part I do—first, that art was not created in India as late as the 3rd century B.C. by an imperial decree of Asoka; secondly (and we must all be grateful to Mr. Havell for having made this fact clear to the general public) that India developed in the time of the Guptas an original art perfectly adapted to her taste and ideals. What if somebody takes into his head to declare emphatically that the art of India *must* have been the same before she was

submitted to, as it was after she disengaged herself from, the foreign influence? He will at once conclude that Indian art in the 5th century B.C., of which we know absolutely nothing, must have been as fine as that in the 5th century A.D., with which we begin to get familiarly acquainted.

Now that is the trick which, more or less consciously, more or less explicitly, has been and is still being played upon us; and the worse part of it is that many unsuspecting people, with no special knowledge of the question, have allowed themselves to be deceived. But the professional Indianist cannot be taken in so easily and puts at once his finger on the weak point of the sophism. He is not foolish enough to oppose mere affirmations to affirmations about what was going on in prehistoric India: where there are no documents left, science has no standing ground. But fortunately for historical truth, from the 3rd century B.C. downwards some monuments have been preserved. Before we take a leap over ten centuries and gratuitously infer that the Nanda art was no less advanced than the Gupta one, we must take into account what the intervening dynasties of the Andhras, the Śungas and the Mauryas left us. Now if we go in time backward from Amarāvati to Sāñchi (gates of *stūpa* No. 1), then to Bodh-Gayā and Barhut, and then to Sāñchi again (railings of *stūpa* Nos. 2 and 1), we see the scenes become poorer and poorer and the execution more and more clumsy, till even the decoration is entirely absent. Thus we are inevitably driven to the conclusion that ancient India, the glorious India of the Vedic poets and linguists, of the philosophers and grammarians, had many vocations indeed besides the Fine Arts, but that what she produced in the latter direction before she came into contact with the Western world was, according to all available facts, of a rather rudimentary sort.

Then Alexander came and, little more than a century after him, the Graeco-Bactrians conquered Northern India. Hellenistic influence spread in their wake and evolved on your

N. W. Frontier under specially favourable circumstances too long to be set forth in detail here, the Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra. The classical element in it is so obvious that at first European archaeologists considered it is a simple branch of Hellenistic Art. I think they were mistaken, and after a twenty years' study I look upon it as no less Indian than Greek. Not only did India supply all the subject-matter of the school's productions, but it perceptibly modified their outer form. It is not simply a case of pouring new wine into old bottles; the new contents somewhat altered the colour and even the shape of the container. The proof is that, except perhaps in the case of a few purely decorative motives, no practised eye could ever mistake an Indo-Greek relievo for a Greek one. It is not debased Graeco-Roman work: it is to a large extent an original creation of North-Western India.

In this hybrid character lies the explanation not only of its birth, but of its after-fortune. If the Frontier artists had not known how to accommodate the vast resources of the Hellenistic studies to the religious needs of Asiatic peoples, their models would have never met with such success, first in India, then in the Far-East. Europeans who assert that Greek influence alone engendered Indian Art, simply forget that, but for the existence of Buddhism, the Gandhāra School would never have come into being. Indians who pretend that their country could very well have done without the Gandhāra School forget that, but for it, the magnificent bloom of Gupta art would have never taken place. Not only did the *Yavana* or *Yavanized* artists completely renovate and prodigiously enrich the technique and the repertoire of Buddhist art: but, through their new creations, Hellenistic canons and workmanship crept down the country to stay and became acclimatized there under the cover of Buddhism. Take it as you please, you have seen it with your own eyes. Western influence was not for India one of those poisons which any living organism hastens to eliminate, but an invigorating food

she perfectly succeeded in assimilating. Her originality was not more injured by it than our human personality is forfeited by the aliments we absorb. On the contrary, this external help enabled her to realize all the better and affirm the more brilliantly her peculiar individuality among the nations of the world.

Might I pursue this simile a little further, I should say exactly in the same strain: It is because Hellenistic influence, first digested on the North-West Frontier, was thus assimilated by India—that it became readily assimilable for the peoples of Eastern Asia. As Buddhist Gupta art is before all an adaptation of Gandhāran art made to suit the taste of Madhyadeśa, so Buddhist art in Java is nothing in its turn but an adaptation to Malay ideas and customs of this Indian adaptation of the Graeco-Buddhist school. That is what a visit to the archaeological galleries of the Calcutta Museum, arranged as they are in chronological order, will at once show you. How the same demonstration could be made, step by step, for Central-Asian, Chinese, Korean and lastly Japanese iconography. Carefully allowing for all local idiosyncrasies and reactions, we can thus follow link by link—but, alas, for the still missing link of unexplored Bactria⁵—the gradual spread of Graeco-Buddhist influence from Gandhāra northwards to Japan and southwards to Java. Now I cannot really perceive any reason why Indians should entertain any sentimental objection to this well connected theory: for you clearly see how, in this long and far-reaching movement, India has not been a merely passive medium, but an active and to a certain degree (a degree which the progress of our studies will enable us to estimate more and more accurately) an original factor.

Such are the most general conclusions to which our Asiatic documents may lead us. We could make a kind of counter-verification of them and double at a stroke our horizon

⁵ On this point we can only refer the reader to a recent note in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, entitled "the Cradle of Graeco-Buddhist Art"

simply by remembering that European art too, pagan as well as Christian, underwent throughout the limits of the Roman Empire the same Hellenistic influence we have just seen at work in Asia. That accounts not only for the universal use of so many architectural or decorative details, but for the striking resemblance I had occasion to point out between some religious images, like those of the Tutelary Couple in India and in Gaul, of the Buddhist and Christian Madonna, even of the Graeco-Buddhist Buddha and the Graeco-Christian Christ.⁶ In the light of these suggestive correspondences, it must be acknowledged that, during the first centuries A.D., the sculptors of Gaul and Great Britain as well as those of India all spoke, with a more or less strong indigenous accent, a kind of common language, an artistic *koiné* learned in the last resort at the school of the Asiatic Greeks. Nor can anybody contest that those kindred works of art are simply the outward manifestation of a still more extensive relationship. We are not going too far if we say that then as now India had already become an integral part of what the classical geographers called the "inhabited world," and had entered, to play her part in it, the so-called concert of nations. We gather more and more clearly the impression that at that time a first attempt was made at laying the foundation of what mankind, with the later addition of America, is still striving to establish, viz., a peaceful and fruitful commerce between its various constituent parts. Unfortunately there were still too many Barbarians abroad, and they succeeded, as history teaches us, in breaking and interrupting for many centuries to come the initiated intercourse between the three great civilizations then existing in the world, the Graeco-Roman, the Indo-Iranian and the Chinese. Let us hope the peace we are now celebrating has made us come infinitely nearer to this ultimate goal, and will institute on liberal principles a Society of Nations united by a lasting bond of reciprocal respect and mutual friendship. In any case,

⁶ See *Beginnings*, etc., pl. XVI, XVII-XVIII, XLV-L and frontispiece

begging Rudyard Kipling's pardon, it is not true that East and West will never meet. They are meeting now under our eyes as we have just seen them meeting in the past. They have not only developed for themselves practically the same morals, but, as they communicated of old in art, so they are communicating now in science. And how could it be otherwise? Despite all differences of climates, races and creeds, there is after all only one art, one morality, one science, because there is at the bottom only one humanity.

ĀTATĀYIN, AN OLD LEGAL TERM.

F. E. PARGITER, M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S. (retired).

*Late Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Fort William,
Bengal.*

The word *ātatāyin*, formed from the root *ā-tan*, "to stretch (a bow for shooting)," meant "having one's bow drawn (ready for shooting)," and so "prepared to take another's life." Then it was applied to cases of murderous assault without any reference to a bow, as the *Matsya Purāṇa* (227, 115-7) and *Manu* (viii, 350-1) both say in verse in the same words:—"One may unhesitatingly smite (or kill)¹ a guru or a boy or an old man or a brāhmaṇa very learned in the Vedas, who advances as an *ātatāyin* against one: the smiter (or killer) incurs no guilt whatever in killing an *ātatāyin*, (for it is) wrath meets that wrath." The *Padma Purāṇa* says similarly in different language, when speaking chiefly of brahmanicide (v, 45, 54-6):—"If one smites immediately an *ātatāyin* who smites one, the smiter is not tainted with that man's sins: if one should desire to smite (or kill) an *ātatāyin* assailant also, who wishes to smite (or kill) one, at close quarters in fight, one does not become a brahman-slayer thereby." The *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* also states the same, condensing it in prose (i, 10, 29, 7):—"No guilt attaches to him who smites (or kills) an assailant that intends to inquire him, (for it is) wrath indeed touches wrath."

An *ātatāyin* thus was a man actuated by murderous or dangerous intent, and the doctrine was laid down that to kill an *ātatāyin* outright, whoever he might be, was justifiable homicide. This seems to have been enunciated originally as a maxim of popular justice, because *Āpastamba* cites as his authority for it, not any law-book, but a "Purāṇa." It

¹ The verb *han* is used, which may mean anything from "smiting" to "killing."

appeared therefore first in a Purāṇa, so that he first and Manu afterwards borrowed it from a Purāṇa. The *Matsya* and *Padma* are the only Purāṇas as far as I know that declare it explicitly, and the *Matsya* appears to be older than the *Padma*. Āpastamba's phraseology shows that he was citing the version as it stands in the *Matsya*, and Manu as mentioned above quotes it in the very words of the *Matsya*.

The term was then extended in its scope and applied as a legal term characterizing various heinous offences less directly involving dangerous intent. Thus the *Matsya* adds (227, 117-9): - "Those who rob one of house or field, those who attempt prohibited intercourse, the incendiary, the poisoner, he who threatens one with a weapon, he who employs evil incantations, and he who utters calumny against the king; these are designated *ātatāyins* by those learned in righteous law in the world." The *Padma* also declares somewhat similarly (v, 45, 56-8). - "The incendiary, the poisoner, the stealer of valuable property, he who murders a sleeping person, he who robs one of field and of wife; these six are *ātatāyins*. He who endeavours to kill the king, he who is prone to murder of his father and mother (*pitṛnām*), and a king who pursues the (one's own?) king; these four also are *ātatāyins*." The plural *pitṛnām*, "parents," seems to be used colloquially for the dual, "father and mother"; and these must be reckoned separately, otherwise only three *ātatāyins* are specified.

These definitions show that the import of *ātatāyin* was widened, and it came to mean one who was actuated not only by murderous or dangerous but also by injurious or malign intent. Āpastamba does not use the term *ātatāyin* but has the simpler and wider expression *himsārtham*, "in order to injure"; and this suggests that the meaning of *ātatāyin* had been extended before his time to the larger class of heinous offences mentioned above. His law-book is estimated by Bühler² as not later than the third century B. C. and possibly 150-200 years

² S. B. E., II, p. xliii.

earlier; hence his quotation throws some light on the age of the Purāṇas and the time when the term *ātatāyin* came into use.

This doctrine about the *ātatāyin* was taken into other law books besides Manu. Thus Baudhāyana quotes a verse which says (i, 10, 18, 13)—‘he who kills an *ātatāyin* able to teach (the Veda) and born in a (noble) family, does not become thereby the murderer of a learned brāhmaṇa; (for his) wrath meets that wrath.’ Vaśiṣṭha’s law book (iii, 15-18) enunciates the rule justifying the killing of an *ātatāyin*, and adds as a quotation three verses; of which the first defines the six *ātatāyins* very similarly to the *Padma*, the second is closely like the second part of the passage cited above from the *Padma* (v, 45, 55-6), and the third is almost the same as Baudhāyana’s quotation. The *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* (v, 189-92) has the same two verses as the *Matsya* and *Manu*, and adds two more, which say there are seven *ātatāyins*, he who is prepared with sword, with poison and with fire, he who lifts up his hand to curse, he who kills with Ātharvaṇa spells, he who calumniates kings and he who transgresses against one’s wife.

Bṛhaspati (ii, 15-17)⁴ also exculpates the man who kills a murderous assailant, and extends the exemption from criminality to cases when a man kills an aggressor who strikes him and to cases when abuse is returned for abuse, without any reference to the caste of the aggressor; but he seeks to discourage the summary retaliation, allowed by the above authorities where the *ātatāyin* is virtuous and recites the Veda, by promising that the man who abstains from retaliation in that case will obtain the reward acquired through the performance of a horse-sacrifice. Here we find one step taken to limit the doctrine that one was legally justified in killing an *ātatāyin* outright, namely, when the *ātatāyin* was a well-born, virtuous and learned brāhmaṇa.

The restriction was carried further. That doctrine involved of course an obligation on the king to punish *ātatāyins*, if they

⁴ I have not been able to consult the original text

escaped being killed. Yet the *Linga Purāṇa*, ii, 50, in discoursing on repressive measures (*nigraha*) says (verse 10, though not quite precise in its wording):—"As regards an *ātatāyin* very good kings should inflict (punishment), but not on brāhmaṇas nor yet on a noble of their own realm." This exception of brāhmaṇas and nobles was an innovation, which was evidently felt to be unjustifiable, because that *Purāṇa* introduces its dictum with the remark that it was exceedingly secret and should be concealed from public avowal.

A few instances of the use of the word *ātatāyin* may be noticed, that I have found in the literature. Duryodhana and his party are described as "accomplished in arms and always *ātatāyins*" against the Pāṇḍavas,⁴ where the word has virtually its earlier meaning. Again, Khāṇḍikya had been driven out of his kingdom of Videha by his cousin Keśidhvaja and took refuge in the forest; Keśidhvaja went afterwards to see him in order to learn about a particular *prāyaścitta*, and Khāṇḍikya raising his bow said, "I will kill thee; thou shalt not escape. Thou art an *ātatāyin*, the enemy, the robber of my realm."⁵ Here it has its later sense, and in a third passage it is used rather metaphorically, thus:—Varuṇa offered Arjuna Pāṇḍava the nooses with which he had fastened the Daityas of yore, and said, "Take them, and truly even Yama may not escape thee as an *ātatāyin* (against him)."⁶

The word *ātatāyin* appears to have dropped out of use, thus, it does not occur I believe in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*: but I have not been able to follow the word elsewhere. The foregoing remarks, which are not exhaustive, may help to elucidate a legal term that was once of some importance.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, iii, 36, 1420

⁵ *Vīṣṇu Purāṇa*, vi, 6, 24

⁶ *Mahābhārata*, iii, 41, 1695

THE CONCEPT OF PURUṢA IN THE SĀNKHYA PHILOSOPHY.

INDRADEVA TIWARI, M.A., (BENARES),

Lecturer in Philosophy, the Hindu University, Benares.

I. PRELIMINARY.

The Sāṅkhya Philosophy has generally been recognised by Western thinkers as the rationalistic system *par excellence* of Indian thought. 'This is true, for though the so-called aphorisms of Kapila, to whom the origin of the system is ascribed, as well as the earlier work of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa,¹ admit "testimony" (which is identified with Śruti or Vaidik revelation) as one of the three accepted kinds of proof, yet in strong contrast to the Vedānta the classical Sāṅkhya almost never has recourse to spiritual testimony to prove a point, and throughout bases its doctrine upon perception and inference. As a matter of fact, Śruti or revelation seems only to be admitted *pro forma*, in order to justify the orthodoxy of the system; for its authority is seldom appealed to, and some of the doctrines which seem most prominently taught in the scriptures, are directly controverted. Moreover, the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is presented not as a mere aggregate of so many isolated tenets, but as a coherent scheme of thought, an interrelated organic structure of knowledge, in which the elaboration of details and the interlinking of parts exhibit dialectic acumen and architectonic skill. It appears as if every brick had been carefully tested and fitted before it is set in its place. A rigid demonstrative proof seems to be the very life-breath

¹ Īśvara Kṛṣṇa's date is uncertain. According to Keith it is 4th century A.D. Prof. A. B. Dhruva has however tried to show that this date must be pushed back to about the 1st century B.C.; see his paper on "Trividham Anumānam" read at the First Oriental Conference, Poona, November, 1919.

of the system; and the result is that it is equally detached from the dogmatic cumbrous adjuncts of Vedic lore, and the ingenious hair-splitting distinctions of "logic-choppers."²

Such an ancient scheme of thought has deservedly attracted notice, not only because of the vast influence it has in its pristine form exercised upon Buddhism and particularly upon the development of Buddhist psychology, but also on account of the bold originality and the intrinsic value of its scientific conception of Causality, its doctrine of "the Three Attributes," its uncompromising "clear-cut" Dualism etc. In fact the reasoning of the Sāṅkhya system was felt to have great weight, as the outcome of which, Sāṅkhya elements were freely admitted into the later Vedānta. /Richard Garbe aptly remarks: "In due course of time, these heterodox ideas had attained so much weight, and the rationalistic World-View had become so dangerous a competitor with the spiritualistic World-View in the intellectual life of the times, that the Brahmins, ever sharp-sighted in such matters, regarded reconciliation as more to the purpose than a battle."³ /

The Sāṅkhya conception of *Puruṣa* and its relation to its exact antithesis, *Prakṛti*, forms the very core of the system; and Keith rightly says in his monograph: "This conception is the fundamental point of the whole Sāṅkhya System and its difficulties are obvious." Now in order to appreciate the Sāṅkhya stand-point, it is necessary to draw rapidly an outline of the Philosophy. It will be useful if we reverse the mode of exposition, followed in the original treatises, and instead of proceeding from the general to the particular, as they do, to follow a line of thought which probably may not be far removed from that along which the original founders worked out the details in a systematic form. In this way, we ascend,

² Hopkins well points out that the Sāṅkhya teachers were considered to be models in teaching, and nothing better could be said in eulogy of a system than that it was "equal to Sāṅkhya-Yoga." The Sāṅkhya teaching is considered in the Epic as the norm. (See his *Great Epic*.)

³ *Die Sāṅkhya Philosophie*

step by step, the ladder of conceptions—twenty-five in number—which form the skeleton of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

II. A BRIEF EXPOSITION OF THE CATEGORIES.

We are familiar enough with the fact that primarily all our knowledge of the outer World comes to us through the senses and these are proverbially five, viz., sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. Modern psychology, it is true, has added to these several others such as the muscular sense, the sense of temperature etc. But there is not a little disagreement as to these amongst psychologists, and we may rest, for the moment, content with the time-honoured classification of the senses as five. Now as our knowledge of the external world comes to us in terms of these five senses, the Sāṅkhya thinkers argued that this outer world itself must be built up out of five elements, one corresponding to each of the senses. But as all the forms of matter with which we are familiar ordinarily appeal to more than one sense—earth, for instance, can be seen and touched, as well as smelt—it is obvious that these cannot be simple elements in themselves, which correspond one to each of the senses exclusively. Therefore these objects which our senses reveal to us must not only be composite bodies, but their very elements must be compounded, made-up out of the ultimate elements (तन्मात्राणि). Hence the Sāṅkhya holds that the familiar external world consists of five “gross elements,” the *Mahābhūtas* as they are termed; and these “gross elements” in turn, are composed of the five “ultimate elements”, the so-called “subtle elements” or *Tanmātras*, which are named after the senses to which each corresponds.

But action plays a part in life as well as knowledge; not only are we acted upon by the external world, receiving impressions from it through our five senses, but we ourselves react upon the world about us and thereby produce changes in it. According to the Sāṅkhya this takes place by means of certain powers, faculties, or “organs of action” similar in

nature and origin to "the organs of sense-perception" and probably conceived and defined in analogy to these. These are the organs of speech, grasping, walking, excretion, and generation. We must not confuse the powers or capacities denoted by these terms with the external, gross, physical organs (hands, feet etc.), in which they are seated. They are just as distinct as the five "organs of sense-perception" are from the physical eye, ear, skin etc., through which they function.

Going one step further, the Sāṅkhya thinkers noticed that the impressions of the separate senses are combined and synthesized with each other as well as brought into intimate relation with the organs of action. Moreover a special organ is needed for the activities of *wishing* and *reflecting* which play so large a part in our conscious life. Hence the Sāṅkhya thinkers are led to the conception of an "inner sense", which is named *Manas* and is classed with the *Indriyas*. We must clearly understand the meaning that Sāṅkhya attaches to it. *Manas* is the inner sense, the *sensorium commune*, and it has the function of wishing, reflecting etc. It unites the impressions coming from the external world, and reflects *doubtfully* upon the precise nature of the object in question. It is an organ and indeed a material one; for we must never forget that, from the Sāṅkhya stand-point, all these—the *Indriyas* and *Manas*—are no less material than the five "subtle elements" and their products, the Mahābhūtas.

Introspection showed these old thinkers that not only was the mass of sensations, the raw materials, supplied by the senses, synthesized by a *Manas*, but they were also brought into relation with the *feeling of the self*, of the self as the actor, the enjoyer, the experiencer of things. Now this feeling of the self is not contained in the definition of *Manas* just given, and hence we must add another principle to our list, another factor which contributes to experience *the feeling of being the actor or enjoyer*. To this the Sāṅkhya thinkers gave the name *Ahaṁkāra*, and it may be defined as the principle by virtue of

which we regard ourselves as acting, enjoying and so on, while in truth, we, that is, *Puruṣas*, are entirely free therefrom.

So far we have reached this position: our senses come in contact with external objects and receive impressions therefrom; the *Manas* attends to them, and the *Ahamkāra* adds thereto the notion of "I" as the actor, so that one says, "I feel," "I act" etc. One step more remains: the definite determination of the object. This demands another principle. This is the thinking principle proper, that is, the principle which brings forth thought from within itself and does not, like *Manas*, depend purely upon impressions received from outside. So the Sāṅkhya adds another to its list of principles and calls it *Buddhi*.⁴ This *Buddhi* is also called *Mahat* or "the great one," and has for its material cause *Prakṛti*, the root-substance, the ultimate source or origin of all activity, formed of three constituents or *Guṇas*—*Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*.

Hence we have according to the Sāṅkhya view the following principles, usually called *Tattvas*, viz., the five gross elements, the five subtle elements, the ten *Indriyas*, *Manas*, *Ahamkāra*, *Buddhi* (these being all individual, that is, differing for each creature) and *Prakṛti*, making twenty-four material principles or *Tattvas* in all. In addition to these, there is the *Puruṣa*, also an individual principle, completing the twenty-five principles which constitute the skeleton of the Sāṅkhya Philosophy.

So far in our analysis, we have not paid any very close attention to the genesis of the *Tattvas* nor to their relation to one another. These questions are throughout determined in the Sāṅkhya by appeals to its scientific view of causality. Our chief aim is to study in some details the Sāṅkhya concept of *Puruṣa* and its relation to *Prakṛti*; and with the rough outline of the system before us, we shall now be able to appreciate fully the Sāṅkhya point of view.

* यथा हि तामाज्यायाः कौटुम्बिकीभ्यः करमादाय विषयाध्यवसाय प्रथम्यन्ति, विषयाध्यवसाय स्वर्वाध्यवसाय, यच्च भूपतये, तथा वाहिनिन्द्रियाणि आलोच्य मनसि समर्पयन्ति, मनसि सङ्कल्पयादङ्गराव, सङ्कल्पाद्वागिनस्य स्वर्वाध्यवसायां बुद्धी ।—*Sāṅkhya Tattva Kaumudī*.

III. THE EXISTENCE OF PURUṢA.

(The Sāṅkhya lays down a four-fold division of categories based on their respective causal and productive efficiency: This division is (1) productive, (2) productive and produced, (3) produced, (4) neither productive nor produced.⁵) The *Puruṣa* or Spirit belongs to the last category. It is conscious, unchanging and simple, "a mere witness." (Its existence is thus established by the Sāṅkhya thinkers.⁶

(1) Every concrete object in this world is found invariably to exist for the sake of a conscious being, i.e., for serving the purpose of a living conscious person. This concreteness is due to its being a *whole* which is characterized by some differentiable aspects. Each and every one of the totality of objects coming under the *व्यक्त* is concrete in this sense. The *अव्यक्त* is also concrete in the same sense. They must all point to the existence of a conscious being for the sake of whom they exist. This conscious being is the *Puruṣa*, whose existence is thus employed in the very existence of concrete objects (*सङ्गतपरार्थत्वात्*).

(2) But this *Puruṣa* may also be a concrete being like others and its existence may similarly be held to be for the sake of others. This cannot be, as the *Puruṣa* is not a compound and has no distinguishable aspects, because it is consciousness. Hence the *Puruṣa* must be admitted to have its existence for its own sake (*त्रिगुणादिविपर्ययात्*).

(3) Again, whatever is found in this world to perform any actions, is also invariably found to be endowed with a conscious centre without which the actions become impossible. Our bodies are found to perform actions; there must therefore be a conscious centre within us, without which such actions are not possible. This conscious centre is the entity called *Puruṣa*,

मूलप्रकृतिरविकृतिर्निरुद्धाः प्रकृतिविकृतयः सप्त ।

चोक्तमक्षद्वयं विकारो न प्रकृतिर्न विकृतिरुच्यते ॥

Sāṅkhya Kārikā, iii.

सङ्गतपरार्थत्वाद, त्रिगुणादिविपर्ययादविद्यानात् ।

पुरुषोऽस्ति भोक्तृभावान्, केवल्यायै प्रवर्तते ।

Sāṅkhya Kārikā, xvii.

whose existence, as a ground of the possibility of actions, must therefore be admitted (अधिष्ठानात्).

(4) This conscious entity has to be admitted further because all that is enjoyed or suffered by us requires a conscious enjoyer or sufferer.⁷ For the enjoyment or the suffering would not be possible at all without the presence of a conscious entity in us. This is the *Puruṣa* (भोक्तृभावात्).

(5) Again, the existence of *Puruṣa* follows from the fact that we find in many persons a strong desire to be absolutely free from all pleasures and pains incidental to life itself. Now this desire would not be possible unless there were a being, forming our true self, that is actually so free in its nature. Now everything else save the *Puruṣa* is subject to pleasures and pains, because everything is characterized by the three *Guṇas*, while the *Puruṣa* is not (कौवल्यार्थं प्रहृतेष्व).

IV. PURUṢA AND PRAKṚTI

(In every respect except one the *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* are the exact antithesis of each other. Their common characteristic is that both alike are equally real, equally uncreated, equally without beginning or end ;)but in all other respects they are diametrically opposed to each other. Thus *Prakṛti* is eternally subject to change, this being its very essence ; while *Puruṣa* is ever unchanging, simple, uncombined, absolutely without action, every transformation or alteration or motion belonging exclusively to *Prakṛti* and to its modifications *Buddhi*, *Ahaṁkāra*, *Manas* etc. *Prakṛti* is material, unconscious and productive ; it is always an object or, as it is usually put in the texts, it exists for another's (i.e. *Puruṣa*'s) purpose. *Puruṣa* itself is spirit or consciousness and produces nothing. *Prakṛti* is the actor, the doer ; *Puruṣa*, a mere witness, a spectator, eternally without action of any kind. Pleasure, pain and all other affections belong exclusively

⁷ The term भोक्ता, employed here for पुरुष means the *subject* in relation to all that is known. Its very nature is subjectiveness (भोक्तृत्वम्) as it has been shown in *Kārika* xi that it is अविद्यमानः .

to *Prakṛti*; *Puruṣa* is totally untouched by them. Lastly, *Puruṣa* being ever pure, can never, strictly speaking, be either bound or liberated, and thus both bondage and liberation apply in strictness to *Prakṛti*. *Puruṣa* though existent, is immaterial, while *Prakṛti* is matter in all its forms.

Let us cite some of the examples or illustrations by which the old writers sought to make these conceptions more intelligible. The image most commonly employed to illustrate the connection of the unconscious but creative *Prakṛti* with the conscious but unproductive, inactive *Puruṣa*, is the alliance of two men, the one lame and the other blind. Each is helpless by himself; the lame man, though he can see, cannot walk and cannot reach his goal. The blind man can walk but cannot see where he is going. But when the blind man takes the lame one on his shoulders, each supplies the need of the other and together they reach their goal. Here the lame man is the actionless *Puruṣa* that can see, i.e. is conscious but can neither move nor act; while the blind man that can walk is the unconscious but active *Prakṛti*, the doer of all actions. By the alliance of the lame and the blind, the goal is reached, i.e. by the connection of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* the Universe exists.

This unconscious activity of *Prakṛti* for the benefit of *Puruṣa* is often compared to the milk which unconsciously flows from the cow's udder for the benefit of the calf. Since the whole activity of *Prakṛti* takes place solely in the interest of *Puruṣa* in order to present the objects of sensation and knowledge to the *Puruṣa* and so lead it to self-knowledge, we often find *Prakṛti* spoken of as an excellent unselfish servant who receives from his master (*Puruṣa*) neither thanks nor wages for his services; or as a cook who prepares food for his master; or as a born slave who by his very nature cannot do otherwise than serve his master. Sometimes again, *Prakṛti* is likened to the patient ass bearing a load of sandal-wood for its master, but oblivious of the sweet odour of its burden and reaping no fruit from its labour.

With these analogies to help us, it is not a very difficult matter to form a fairly clear idea of the connection between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, spirit and matter, subjectivity and objectivity. But in associating the Western terms with the Sāṅkhya *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, it will perhaps be wise to utter a word of caution against importing into the Sāṅkhya terms all the associations and connotations which these convey. In reality *Puruṣa* denotes a conception which is not identifiable with any of the forms of subjectivity or consciousness of which we have any experience in normal life, although apart from *Puruṣa* no consciousness is possible at all. In the Sāṅkhya, perception thought etc., arise from the conjunction of *Puruṣa* with *Prakṛti*. But it should not be supposed that *Puruṣa* is thereby modified or that these various words, "consciousness", "sensation" and so forth denote states or conditions of *Puruṣa* produced by its conjunction with *Prakṛti*. To understand it thus would be to turn the Sāṅkhya thought upside down. For the Sāṅkhya regards all these "forms of consciousness" as purely and simply modifications of *Prakṛti*, enlightened and informed with subjectivity by reason of being in conjunction with *Puruṣa*. Thus it is exclusively owing to the presence of *Puruṣa* that these, which are really modifications of *Prakṛti*, become, so to say, *suffused* with consciousness, so that it is entirely to *Puruṣa* that the whole of what we know as consciousness is due. On the other hand *Puruṣa* is, *per se* (i.e. in the liberated condition) according to the Sāṅkhya, something so wholly and totally different from anything of which we have experience that it can only be described as "not this, not that, not thus, not thus."

The comparison most generally made to illustrate this point is that of a crystal in which is reflected a red hibiscus blossom. Owing to the nearness of the red flower, the crystal appears red also, but in reality neither the crystal nor the flower have undergone any change. Thus the proximity of the *Puruṣa* with *Prakṛti* causes the latter to appear conscious,

while really devoid of consciousness, just as the colourless crystal appears red from its nearness to the flower; or turning the imagery, as Vijnānabhikṣu does, the other way round, *Puruṣa* appears to undergo the modifications of sensation, perception etc., owing to the reflection in it of these glorious modifications of *Prakṛti*, while in reality it no more undergoes any change than does the clear colourless crystal which appears red owing to the reflection in it of the hibiscus flower.

V PLURALITY OF SPIRITS.

The Sāṅkhya further teaches the existence of numberless *Puruṣas* or individual souls, which it regards as having existed from all eternity and as being destined in all eternity to continue to be absolutely *individual*. Hence the word *Puruṣa* stands for an *individual* soul, whether in the bondage of birth and death, or liberated, and must never in connection with the Sāṅkhya be thought otherwise. It is really an infinite host of *Puruṣas* who stand over against *Prakṛti*.

The scriptures generally preach the universality of One Supreme Soul, that all are similar in essence and "are but parts of one stupendous whole," and it is only delusion that blinds us to this essential unity. The Sāṅkhya thinkers however felt that the great rock in the path of Pantheism was the problem of Personality, that had to be faced squarely. So they have pronounced in no indistinct terms in favour of the multiplicity of Souls. The individual can never be merged in the universal. Let us adduce the arguments set out by Īśvara Kṛṣṇa in support of the plurality of spirits. These considerations are as follows :

(1) The soul is eternal. It comes upon the plane of human experience when brought in contact with a body, and we say a person is born. It passes out of such a plane when the connection with a body is severed, and we say the man is dead. The bodies again are not alike in all cases. Now if there were only one soul, these conditions of life should

approximate to a complete similarity ; there should, for instance, be one universal birth and one universal death. But this is contrary to experience (*अवमरणकरणानां प्रतिनियमात्*).

(2) Not only do the material conditions of life vary but the mental conditions also. We find that different men are differently inclined and take to different occupations. If souls were not individually distinct all should act alike (*अद्युगपत् प्रवृत्तेषु*).

(3) Different men are also differently constituted and affected. This diversity of constitution must be due to something beyond the constituents, to the individuality of the *Puruṣa* (*वैगुण्यविपर्ययाच्च*).

The Sāṅkhya thinkers here commit a blunder. They forget that all these arguments apply to the empirical Ego and not to *Puruṣa*. When the connection with *Prakṛti* is severed, and the *Puruṣas* stand in their liberated condition, what is it that distinguishes one from the other? The *Puruṣa per se* is pure consciousness. What is then the nucleus of individuality? The Sāṅkhya conception of *Puruṣa* as *kūṭastha* implies its transcendence, i.e. its existence beyond the temporal limitations. Now this concept of transcendence is evidently incompatible with the concept of number because the latter, in the words of Kant, is "simply the translation of the concept of quantity in terms of time".⁴

This is a very serious difficulty and the Sāṅkhya thinkers do not appear to point out any solution. Coupled with this there is another. As there is a yawning gulf between *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, how can there be any connection between the two? Keith well points out: "As there is no real connection between spirit and nature it seems wholly impossible to understand how the false conception of such a connection can arise." The spirit is in reality purely subjective, nature is purely objective, and there is no interaction which can explain the existence of ignorance or of knowledge.

अद्वैतं केचिद्विद्वन्नि वेतन्निच्छन्ति चापरे ।

समं तच्च न ज्ञानं हि वेतादेतद्विवर्जितम् ॥ *Āyama*

The Sāṅkhya writers no doubt explain this by the mutual dependence (अपेक्षा) of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. "The union of nature and soul is caused by mutual dependence like the union of the lame man and the blind man. Nature as the thing to be experienced depends upon the soul, the experiencer; and the soul looks to final bliss as it seeks to throw off the three kinds of pain which have fallen upon it by its coming under the shadow of *Buddhi*, through not recognising its distinction therefrom. This final bliss is produced by the discrimination of nature and soul, nor is the end possible without it; therefore soul depends upon nature for its final bliss. Just as a lame man and a blind man, travelling along a caravan by accident having become separated from their companions and wander slowly about in great dismay, till by good luck they meet each other; and then the lame man mounted on the blind man's back reaches his desired goal, and the blind man following the path indicated by the lame man, also reaches his destination; so too creation is effected by nature and soul, which are likewise naturally dependent" (*Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*).

But the difficulty is that whereas the aim of the union of the lame and the blind is obviously the serving of a useful purpose, no such purpose can be conceived for the union of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*. Unconscious Nature cannot experience misery; Spirit in itself does not experience misery, but the union of the two paradoxically creates the very misery, the absolute elimination of which is the *summum bonum* for the *Puruṣa* to strive after.

These are the difficulties that constitute the very crux of the Sāṅkhya system. Śaṅkara has tried to avoid them by doing away with the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the multiplicity of spirits. But his system has its own difficulties. As always in philosophy, the solution of one problem is the emergence of another. There is no finality.

THE BRAHMINICAL CONCEPTION OF THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS.

UPENDRANATH GHOSHAL, M.A.,
Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta.

The systematic investigation of the phenomena of the State can be first traced on the Indian soil in the writings of two different classes of authorities whose dates range, roughly speaking, from 500 to 300 B.C. These are the latest schools of Vedic study (the *Sūtracāṇas*) whose works have come down to us under the title of Kalpasūtras in their three divisions (the Śrautasūtras, the Gr̥hyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras), and the secular schools and teachers whose views have been partially preserved for us by a fortunate series of references and citations in the works of Kauṭilya and of his disciple Kāmandaka. Both these classes of authorities—the canonists and the political thinkers—imply the existence of a science of the State underlying their rules of policy, but the conception of the science in the two cases presents sharply different features to which we must first turn our attention.

In the Dharmasūtras the investigation of the phenomena of the state is bound up with the fundamental conception of social order which involves the duties (*dharma*s) pertaining severally to the divisions (*varṇa*s and *āśrama*s) of the Brahminical social system as well as the king who is regarded as *sui generis*. In this scheme the duties of the first three castes are declared to the performance of sacrifice, Vedic study, and making gifts; to which are added, for the Brāhmaṇa, the duties of making others sacrifice, teaching and receiving gifts; for the Kṣatriya, those of fighting and protection of the people; and for the Vaiśya, agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade; the duty of the Śūdra is stated to be the service of the

other three classes.¹ The duties of the King may be described as those of the Kṣatriya writ large.² It has further to be observed that these duties are declared to be primarily based upon Revelation which is supplemented by good custom and decision of the learned council (*pariṣad*) of Brāhmanas.³ Hence it follows that the duties have an ethical significance, their fulfilment leading the subject to the goal of heaven and even that of salvation.⁴ Such being the main features of the Brahminical scheme of social order, we have to consider it in relation to the main subject of our enquiry, viz., how far it involves the conception of a political science. From the above enumeration of the duties of the four castes it will appear that the functions of the King and the Kṣatriya are partly personal and partly of a public character. Now it is this latter branch of duties that may be said quite properly to form the subject of a science or rather art of government. This title is not seriously affected as will be seen in the sequel, by the fact that the social order is sought to be based primarily upon Revelation. Further, since the kingly duties like the duties of the castes (*varṇas*) and order (*āśramas*) have an ethical significance, it follows that the science underlying the rules of kingly duty is not a real but an ideal science. It seeks to describe not how the king does, but how he should, conduct the internal and foreign administration of his kingdom. But the ethical significance of the kingly duties as well as of those of the four castes is not confined to the individual subject. For their fulfilment is likewise regarded as an important, not to say essential, condition for perfecting of the other classes and individuals of the social system. In particular the king's fulfilment of his own functions is stated to be necessary for securing not merely the good life, but the bare needs, of the

¹ Vas., II, 13-20; Bandh., II, 10, 18, 2-5 etc

² Gaut., XI.; Vas., XIX.

³ Gaut., I, 1-2, B, I, Bandh., I, 1, 1, 1-4 and 8, Vas., I, 4-10, Apast., I, 1, 1, 1-2.

⁴ Gaut., XI, 29-30, Vas., I, 2-3, Apast., II, 9, 21-2.

people.⁵ We may therefore finally lay it down that the science of Politics involved in the Brahminical scheme of social order is part and parcel of a general body of socio-psychological ethics involving a body of duties whose fulfilment perfects the individual performer and at the same time is a means of perfecting of all the rest.

Let us now turn to the second group of authorities whose works herald the advent of systematic political thought in ancient India. These are the schools and individual teachers whose speculations paved the way for the *magnum opus* of Indian political literature, the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. They introduce us for the first time to the true Indian science of Politics which is indicated by the terms *Arthasāstra* and *Dandaśāstra*. The definitions of these terms given by Kauṭilya doubtless in the light of their traditional interpretation appear to throw some light upon the original character of the new science. Kauṭilya writes (XV, 1). "The subsistence of making is termed *artha*, the earth which is filled with making is also called *artha*; the branch of knowledge which deals with the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is called *Arthasāstra*". In other words, *Arthasāstra* is not the science of the formation, growth, and decline of the State but is the art of government. As regards *Dandaśāstra*, Kauṭilya (I, 4) explains it in its etymological sense of the management of punishment, while elsewhere (I, 2) he expressly declares it to comprise both policy and non-policy, in other words to be synonymous with the Indian Science of Politics. This definition is important only as illustrating what we learn from a study of the surviving fragments of the speculations of the early masters, viz., the predominant place coupled by the penal law in their rules of

⁵ Cf the following passage from Gaut, VIII, 1-3.

"A king and a Brāhmaṇa deeply versed in the Vedas, these two uphold the moral order in the world (or else the rites and occupations in the kingdom). On them depends the existence of the fourfold human race, of internally conscious beings, of those which move on feet and on wings, and of those which creep, (as well as) the protection of offspring, the prevention of confusion (of castes) and of the Sacred law."

policy. But besides forming the conception of a definite science of Politics, the predecessors of Kautilya have thought it fit to consider its relation to the other branches of knowledge. It appears that the earliest teacher whose view is accepted as the basis of discussion by the Schools cited in the *Arthasāstra* (I, 2), adopts the category of four branches of learning (*vidyās*). These consist of Philosophy (*ānvikṣiki*), the triple Vedas (*trayī*), Politics (*dandanīti*) and the science of agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade (*vārtā*). The three schools cited by Kautilya, however, criticise this division of the sciences so as to arrive at a progressive simplification of their number. Thus the school of Manu excluded philosophy from the list on the ground that it was only a branch of the Vedas. The atheistical school of Brhaspati excluded also the Vedas, which it characteristically declared to be only an imposition of the priests upon the ordinary mankind, while the ultra-political school of Śukra declared Politics to be the only science because all other sciences had their origin and end in it.

The later history of the Brahminical sacred literature as well as the literature of politics shows a tendency towards a mutual approximation of the two parallel conceptions of the science or art of government that we have attempted to describe in the foregoing pages. We begin with the great work on Polity which is ascribed to Kautilya, the illustrious minister of the first Maurya Emperor of India (324-276 B.C.). It is not only the greatest surviving monument of Indian literature on political science, but it is also the first entire work on the subject that has come down to us. We can therefore best understand the scope of the science by a study of its contents. The subjects dealt with by Kautilya include the definition of Politics and its relation to the other sciences, the constitution and end of government, the king's training, the appointment and functions of the king's councillors as well as various executive officers, the rules of internal administration (including those of economic policy) the

composition of the international States-system (*maṇḍala*) and the rules of foreign policy. The author moreover devotes two whole Books (III and X) to the description of the rules of civil law and of warfare. It follows from the above that the Indian Science of Politics comprises the subject of Public Finance, and further has jurisprudence and military science as its adjuncts. Reverting now to the question of the relation of Politics to the other sciences we have to observe in the first place that Kauṭilya deliberately rejects the extreme views of the three schools preceding his advent, and reverts to the category of four branches of knowledge. Of these four sciences, he observes, that they are the means of realizing the twofold object of existence (virtue and wealth), in other words that they are the fundamental human sciences. This fourfold division of the sciences it may be remarked was henceforth stereotyped in the political speculations of the Brāhmanas. What then, is the relation of Politics to its sister-sciences? Kauṭilya's answer is, in the first place, that Politics involves the application of the rest. Thus he says (I, 2) regarding *ānriksaki*, that this science, "viewing the rest in the light of reason, does good to the world, keeps the mind steady in prosperity as well as adversity, and confers skill in knowledge, speech and action." *Ānriksaki* is ever held to be the lamp of all branches of knowledge, the means of performing all deeds, and the support of all sacred laws." Regarding the Sacred Canon he observes that it lays down the duties of the four castes (*varṇas*) and the four orders (*āśramas*), whose enforcement by the king is necessary for the realization of his own self as well as of his subjects. For he writes (I, 3), "(The observance of) one's own duty leads one to Heaven and Infinite Bliss; when it is violated, the world comes to an end, owing to the confusion of castes and duties. Hence the king shall never allow people to

* I follow here the emended translation of this passage given by Mr Ramaprasad Chanda (*Indo-Aryan Races*, Vol. I, p. 228) in preference to the translation of Mr Shama Sastry, which appears to be inconsistent with the following passage

swerve from their duties, for whoever upholds his own duty becomes happy both here and hereafter. For the world being protected by the three Vedas and maintained according to the Aryan customs and fixed in the duties of the castes and orders, progresses but does not decay".⁷ Lastly with regard to *vārtā* Kauṭilya observes (I, 4) that it is useful because it helps to procure grains, cattle, gold, forest-produce and free-labour and because it is by means of the treasury and army obtained through its knowledge that the king is able to bring under his control his own and his enemy's partisans. But while Politics involves the application of the other three branches of learning, it is beyond doubt the fundamental science on which these depend for their existence. Punishment (*daṇḍa*), observes Kauṭilya (I, 4), is the pivot on which depend the security and progress of *ānriksakti*, *trayī* and *rārtā*. Further he states that *dāndanīti* is the means of acquiring what is not gained, preserving what is acquired, increasing what is preserved, and giving away to the deserving what is increased. In fact it is on *dāndanīti* that the course of the world's affairs depends.

We are now in a position to judge what relation the Kauṭilyan conception of Politics bears to the view of the Vedic schools. As we have seen above, Kauṭilya declares Politics to involve the application of the three Vedas. It is significant to notice in this connection that Kauṭilya while declaring *dāndanīti* to be separate from the *trayī*, makes *Arthśāstra* part and parcel of the literature of *Itihāsa* which itself forms a branch of the Vedas (I, 2 and 5). It will be further observed that Kauṭilya at the close of his work claims for the science of *Arthśāstra* the power of securing in the present as well as the next world the threefold object of existence (virtue, wealth and desire). It therefore follows that Kauṭilya seeks to bring the science into line with the principles of the Sacred Canon.

⁷ Shama Shastri's translation.

We may here consider as a fitting pendant to the work of Kauṭilya the well-known treatise of his disciple Kāmandaka, whose date has been fixed by a competent authority as the third or fourth century A.D.⁸ Kāmandaka (III, 2, 6, 8 and 9) paraphrases Kauṭilya's description of the four branches of knowledge and of the relation of Politics to the remaining sciences. He also follows his master in making Politics involve the enforcement of the canonical scheme of class duties or *dharma*s (IV, 34-35). Kāmandaka's work is of the same character as that of Kauṭilya, but he introduces two titles which illustrate afresh the character of the science. In the introductory verses of his work he uses the term kingly science (*rājavidyā*) which is significant as showing how the Indian science of Politics had become identified, thanks to the scheme of class duties, with the study of the monarchic state. We have next to observe that Kāmandaka uses as the title of his work the term *Niṭisāra*. Now *Niṭisāstra*, according to him, is the nectar raised out of the ocean of Arthaśāstras by the genius of Kauṭilya (I, 6). Kāmandaka, therefore, claims for his work that it is the concentrated essence of the Indian Science of Politics.

We have thus traced the history of the conception of Politics in the literature of political science following the rise of the early schools and teachers. We have now to follow a similar process in regard to the Brahminical sacred literature. In the *Manusamhitā* Politics (*daṇḍanīti*) is declared to be an eternal branch of knowledge like the Vedas (VII, 43). On the other hand the royal sage Bhīṣma, addressing King Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata*⁹ mentions the science of Politics (*daṇḍanīti*) to have been created by the God Brahmā along with the institution of kingship by the God Viṣṇu. By thus ascribing a divine origin to the science of Politics and even making it an eternal science, the way was prepared in the *Manusamhitā*

⁸ Jacobi quoted in *Indian Antiquary*, 1912

⁹ *Sāntiparvan*, Ix.

and the *Mahābhārata* for the wholesale incorporation of its contents in the canonical scheme of kingly duties. These authorities, indeed, are distinguished by the care with which they lay down the whole duty of the king. The list shows, as might be expected from the above, a curious medley of the private and public functions of the king. Thus the *Manusamhitā* in its chapter on kingly duties (Chapter VII), includes the worship of Brāhmaṇas and aged persons, the cultivation of modesty, training in the sciences, avoidance of the eighteen traditional vices, erection of forts and palaces, marriage with a lady of suitable rank, appointment of the *purohita* and other priests for the performance of domestic sacrifices, and gifts to Brāhmaṇas along with the infliction of punishment, enforcement of the class duties, selection of the counsellor, appointment of the executive officers, application of the fourfold-policy, levying taxes, organisation of the local administration, consultation with the state council, application of foreign policy, fighting with foreign enemies and treatment of the conquered people. In the following chapter it mentions the king's duty of administering justice. The *Manusamhitā*, moreover, often sums up the king's duties showing the same blending of the royal functions. Thus it states (VII. 88): "Not to turn back in battle, protection of the subjects and serving the Brāhmaṇas are productive of the greatest good to the king". Summaries of the same character occur more frequently in the series of discourses addressed by Bhīṣma to King Yudhiṣṭhira on the subject of kingly duty.¹⁰ Among the king's duties he mentions the worship of gods and Brāhmins, exercise of the virtues of exertion, truthfulness, and mildness combined with severity, exemption of Brāhmins from punishment, enforcement of class duties, and above all protection of the subjects which is declared to be the cream of the king's duty¹¹. Elsewhere¹² he mentions reclamation of

¹⁰ *Mahābhārata*, Book XII

¹¹ *Ibid*, lvi, 11-61; lvii; lviii.

¹² *Ibid*, lxx, 2-3.

lands, performance of sacrifices, endowing the orders of mendicants, death on the field of battle and protection of the subjects.¹³ Such being the composite scope of kingly duties in the Epics and Smṛtis we have to repeat the statement made above that they fall only in part within the province of political science.

From the Epics and Smṛtis we pass to the Purāṇas which in their existing form are now held to date downwards from the 4th century A.D. The Purāṇas like the Śāntiparvan section of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusamhitā*, trace the science of Politics (*daṇḍanīti*) to divine creation and they incorporate its essence in the scheme of kingly duties. The *Bhāgavata*¹⁴ declares *trayī*, *ānvikṣiki*, *vārtā* and *daṇḍanīti* to have been produced from the firmament of the heart of God. The *Agnipurāṇa*¹⁵ embodies a long discourse on the subject of kingly duties said to have been addressed by Puṣkara to Rāma. This is of the same character as the description of the king's duties in the *Manusamhitā* and the *Mahābhārata*. The Purāṇas, moreover, use the title which had been applied by Kāmandaka to his work on Politics. The *Agnipurāṇa*¹⁶ quotes an address on the subject of Nīti said to have been delivered by Rāma to Lakṣmaṇa. It deals with most of the topics usually described in the treatises on polity. In other Purāṇas there is a tendency to merge Politics in a general science of good conduct the term *Nītiśāstra* being used in the sense of Science of Morals. In the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*¹⁷ the Ṛṣi Sūta, addressing the assembled sages on the essence of Nīti, introduces his subject by stating that it is based upon the *Arthaśāstra* and other sciences, confers benefit on kings and other people, and secures long life, heaven and other rewards. His discourse¹⁸ inculcates the lessons of general morality along with the rules of kingly policy.

¹³ Similar lists of kingly duties occur in *ibid*, lxx 13-20; lxxv, xc1, 81 ff

¹⁴ Skandha III, Ch xii, 44

¹⁵ Ohs. cccxviii-cccxxvii.

¹⁶ Ohs. cccxxviii-cccxl

¹⁷ Ch cviii.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, Ohs. cviii-cxvi.

It remains for us to trace the history of the conception of Politics in the Brahminical works of the centuries following the Purāṇas. We begin with Medhātithi, the illustrious author of the commentary on the *Manusamhita*, who flourished not later than the tenth century A.D.¹⁹ That author, it is to be observed, makes *dandanīti* and kingly duties the subject of a secular branch of knowledge, and explains away the texts pointing to a contrary interpretation. He writes:²⁰ "The ascription to punishment of the mastery over *dharma* is a mere metaphorical application". Elsewhere he states²¹ that the use of the word eternal (*śāśvatīm*) in the text with reference to politics (*dandanīti*) is a mere eulogy. Again in his commentary on the introductory verse of the chapter on kingly duties he expressly denies that they are based upon Revelation. He observes: "Here indeed the duties having other authorities (than the Vedas) for their source are explained. All duties have not the Vedas for their source. In regard to duties having other sources, what is not inconsistent with the Sacred Canon is explained". But besides making Politics a purely human science, Medhātithi distinguishes between the personal and public functions of the king from the point of view of their consequence. He observes:²² "The (king's) duties are of two kinds, viz., those (attended) with visible results, e.g. the sixfold policy, and those attended with invisible results, e.g. the *Agnihotra* sacrifice". It appears from the above that Medhātithi deliberately arrived at the conception of a secular science involving the public functions of the king.

We shall now turn to the newly discovered treatise on polity ascribed to Brhaspati, which its learned editor believes to date at least from the twelfth century A.D.²³ The author (I, 3) declares Politics (*dandanīti*) to be the only science

¹⁹ *The Laws of Manu* (S.B.E., xrv, p. cxxi).

²⁰ Commentary on *Manusamhitā* VII, 17.

²¹ Ibid, VII, 43.

²² Ibid.

²³ Vide Dr. Woomas's preface to his edition of the *Brhaspatissūtras* originally published in *Le Muséon* 1916, pp. 121-166.

ignoring the claims of the three Vedas, philosophy and agriculture along with trade. In the same spirit he declares (I, 43) Politics to be conducive to the threefold end of life (virtue, wealth and desire). This view obviously marks a reversion to the heterodox and ultrapolitical opinions held by the school of Śukra before Kauṭilya.

We have reserved for examination in the last place the celebrated work called the *Sukranītisāra* which can be proved to be of the late mediæval period. The author, in laying down the curriculum of the king's study (I, 152-154) mentions the traditional category of four branches of knowledge which he declares to be the support of the four castes and the four orders (*āśramas*). But elsewhere he declares the science of Politics under the title of *Nītiśāstra* to be the most comprehensive and fundamental of the sciences. He observes (I, 4, 5 and 11). "Other branches of knowledge enlighten people only on one aspect of human activities, whereas *Nītiśāstra* sustains all and maintains the world." "As *Nītiśāstra* is declared to be the spring of virtue, wealth and desire and the bestower of salvation, the king should always carefully study it." "Without *Nīti* indeed the stability of no man's affairs exists, just as the stability of living beings (exists not) without food."

At the close of this brief historical review, we are in a position to make some general observations regarding the Indian study of the phenomena of the State. At first, we have to answer the objection made by some distinguished scholars of the West that the Indians never reached the conception of a Science of Politics. "The Oriental Aryans", says Professor Dunning,²⁴ "never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded to-day." Of a similar character is the opinion of Professor Willoughby, who writes,²⁵ "In the ancient Empires of the East to such an extent were religion and law

²⁴ *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval*, Introduction, p. xix

²⁵ *Nature of the State*, p. 42.

confused that political science could scarcely be said to have existed as an independent branch of knowledge. The ultimate sanction of all law was supposed to be found in the sacred writings." Now these statements are obviously inapplicable to the Indian literature of *Arthaśāstra* or *Nītiśāstra*. As we have seen above, the schools and teachers cited by Kauṭilya, so far from denying the claim of Politics to rank as an independent branch of knowledge, expressly recognize it as such and in two cases (those of the schools of Brhaspati and Śukra) exclude the Vedas themselves from the list of Sciences. Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka, while reverting to the category of four branches of knowledge, declare Politics to be the fundamental science on which the other sciences depend for their existence. Further, the rules of policy laid down in the Indian works of *Arthaśāstra* or *Nītiśāstra* appear on examination to be deduced by reasoning from the political facts. In the canonical literature, on the other hand, theological dogmas jostle with the scientific investigation of the phenomena of the State. Indeed the whole scheme of social order laid down in the sacred works is based upon Revelation and thence is deduced the doctrine of the temporal sovereignty of the king and the spiritual sovereignty of the Brāhmaṇa. The dogma of the divine origin of kings and of the principle of punishment figures largely in the *Manusamhitā* and the *Sāntiparvan*. But the rules of policy laid down in the sacred works are drawn from inquiries into the facts of the State and in the later literature involve wholesale incorporation of the rules of the *Arthaśāstras*. If however the science of politics did exist in ancient Indian literature, the question naturally arises, what was its method of enquiry? The answer is given by a careful study of its contents. It shows that while the science draws its rules from the inductive examination of actual political facts, these are expressed in the form of deductions applied to concrete phenomena. In other words it is an applied Science of Politics.

THE ART OF GĀNDHĀRA.

GAURANGANATH BANERJEE, M.A., PH.D., F.R.S.A.,
*Lecturer in Ancient History and Secretary to the Council of
Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, University of Calcutta.*

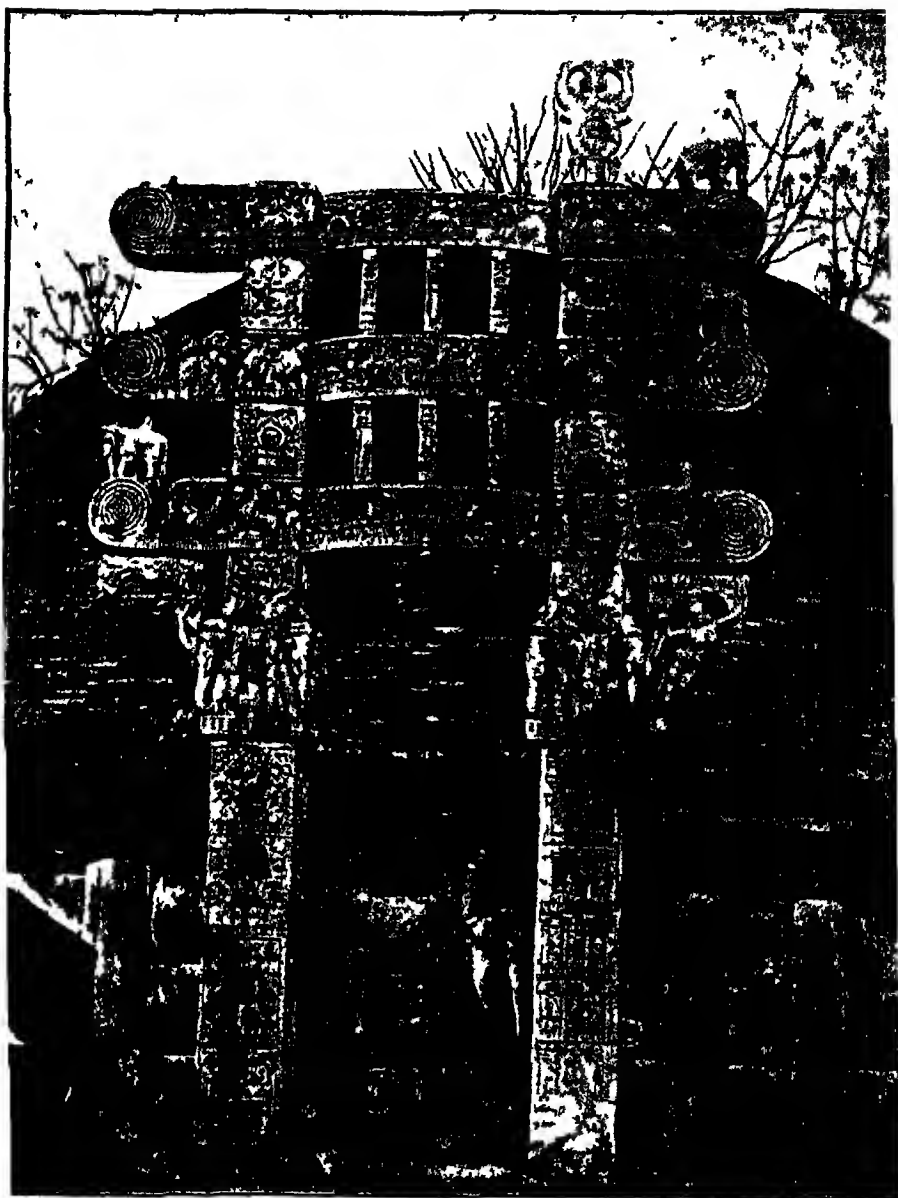
Gāndhāra shows us at the present day a vast, gently undulating plain, bristling in places with rugged hills, and three parts encircled by a belt of fawn-coloured or bluish mountains, which nearly everywhere limit the horizon. But the opening left by them on the south-east over the Indus is the great gate of India; and to the west the winding Khyber Pass remains the principal route of communication between the peninsula and the Asiatic continent; and the towns which formerly guarded this ancient route of invading armies and merchant caravans were Purushapura (now Peshwar); Pushkalāvati, the Πευκαλαοτις of the Greeks; Çalatura, the natal town of the great grammarian Pāṇini; and Uḍabhānda (now Und), where the great river was passed, in winter by a ford, in summer by a ferry, and whence Takṣaśīla, the Taxila of the historians of Alexander, could be easily reached. In this country, which one might call doubly classic, memories associated with the two antiquities, Hellenic and Indian, arise from the ground at each step. Even if history had not preserved for us any remembrance of the memorable encounter between the two civilisations, the mute witnesses in stone, would be sufficient to establish it.

In modern times, not only is this unfortunate Gāndhāra, which had always so much to suffer from its situation on the high, but the conquerors of Asia, no longer Buddhist, it has become more than half Afghan in race, Iranian in language and Musalman. It is a curious fact that, according to at the time of the rude and passing conquest of

Alexander, the *Gandaritis* did not form a part of India, which at that time commenced only at the Indus. Seleukos, after his fruitless attempt at invasion in B.C. 305, is said to have ceded it by treaty, together with the hand of his daughter, in exchange for 500 elephants, to the first historical Emperor of Hindustan, that Chandragupta whom the Greek historians called Sandrakottos. Fifty years later, this district still formed part of the domains of the latter's grandson, the famous Asoka; and he caused to be engraved on a huge rock, half-way up a hill near the present village of Shabaz-Garhi, the pious edicts in which he recommended to his people the practice of the Law of Dhamma, beginning with kindness to animals. From the fifth of these Edicts, it quite clearly appears that for him Gāndhāra was a frontier country, still to be evangelized. We know, on the other hand, the zeal of this "Constantine of Buddhism" for the propagation of the Good Law. Then again, according to the Sinhalese chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*, it was precisely during his reign that the apostle Madhyantika converted Gāndhāra as well as Kashmir. Thus the religion of Buddha would have taken more than two hundred years to spread from Magadha as far as the frontiers of northern India.¹

Besides, whatever may be the exact date of the introduction of Buddhism into Gāndhāra, it must there have been specially successful. We find here in this region, duly acclimatized and deeply rooted, a quantity of legends which the missionaries had brought with them from the Gangetic Valley. The local prosperity of Buddhism only can explain to us the number and the richness of the ancient religious foundations of the country. Some repose under the tumuli which dot the plains on every side and are used by the present inhabitants as stone-quarries. Others are hidden in the caverns and crevices of the mountains, Shahri-Balol and Takhti-Bahi, for example, though ^{Pesh} mentioned long ago, still with their plastic spoils enrich the ~~warrior~~ ^{warrior}.

¹ Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gāndhāra*, Tome Ier and *The Beg. Buddhist Art*



The Torana at Sanchi Stupa

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(PURE INDIAN STYLE)

and Lahore museums. We should bear in mind moreover, that Gāndhāra played a double rôle, moral as well as artistic in the evolution of the religion which it had embraced with so much zeal. The numerous doctors whom it has produced have taken a preponderating part in the transformation of the Buddhist egoistical beliefs. It is no longer a secret to any one that the regular sweep of renaissance, posterior to the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha, was brusquely interrupted by a veritable artistic cataclysm. The Hellenised sculptors of the north-west, strangers to the native traditions of Central India e.g., those of Bhārut, Sāñchi, Amarāvati etc., satisfied to the full and even outstripped the wishes of their Buddhist patrons by creating for their use the Indo-Greek type of Buddha. Immediately, their colleagues in the Brahmavarta, seduced by this wonderful innovation, greeted with no less enthusiasm than the laity, the rupture of the magic charm which had weighed so long upon the ancient Buddhist school. Its adoption moreover did not come into direct collision with any dogmatic prejudice. Always docile interpreters of current beliefs and ideas, the texts set themselves henceforth to guarantee by the aid of apocryphal traditions or an abundance of miracles the authentic resemblance of those portraits whose possibility they were a moment ago denying. The obvious reason is that in reality, the new mode did not expressly infringe any ritualistic prohibition; it did nothing but overthrow the artistic procedures of composition and the bonds which fell were of a purely technical kind. Under the stroke of revelation which came to the Gangetic artists from Gāndhāra, their emancipation was as sudden as it was complete.²

The history of the ancient régime in Buddhist art prior to the Gandharan revolution may, in fact, be summed up as follows. We have every reason to suppose that there was first, from the fifth century onwards local production at the four great centres of pilgrimage. But by reason of the very

² Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*.

fact that it has been almost entirely removed from the traditional influences, the school of the north-west presents characteristic signs quite different from those of the ancient school. The Gāndhāra sculpture and architecture exhibit the strongest classical influence; at Sāñchi and Bhārut it is much less evident. It is, however, true to say that the early schools are compounded of Assyrian, Persian, Hellenistic and Indian elements. But these foreign elements in the art of Gāndhāra tended to diminish as time went on, and that generally speaking the sculptures with most clearly marked Greek character should be considered early, and those most Indianised, as comparatively late. But this criterion, it must be borne in mind, affords no infallible test of age. Some of the best finished works in Hellenistic style may have been executed by clever Indian imitators long after the introduction of the style, just as among the Mughal paintings we find close imitations of Persian models side by side and contemporary with paintings profoundly Indianised. Of a truth it was no reproach to Indian art that it was able to borrow forms and ideas from the Greeks. On the contrary, it was its particular merit that it had strength enough to assimilate those forms and ideas so completely to its own purpose without losing its own vitality and character. At present, owing to nationalist fervour or to æsthetic bias, it is the fashion to make the school of Gāndhāra concede its manifest superiority by a systematic blackening of its noblest productions. We refuse in this connection to share either the unjustifiable contempt of the old criticism for native inspiration or the ill-disguised spite of the new against the foreign make. It is not the father or the mother alone who formed the child; it is the father *and* the mother. The Indian mind has taken a part no less essential than has Greek genius in the production of the Gāndhāra sculptures. It is a case where the East and the West could have done nothing without each other. The art represented by the Gāndhāra sculptures is the result of the union of the older Indian art and the Hellenistic art as it



A. Bacchanalian Group from Gandhara

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was known in Bactria. It was thus not a new departure, but merely a new development. Many of the old motifs were retained practically unchanged; others were modified, others almost transformed. While in addition to all these, many entirely new ideas were introduced by the Græco-Bactrian artists. All these no doubt invest them with very great historical interest and importance.¹

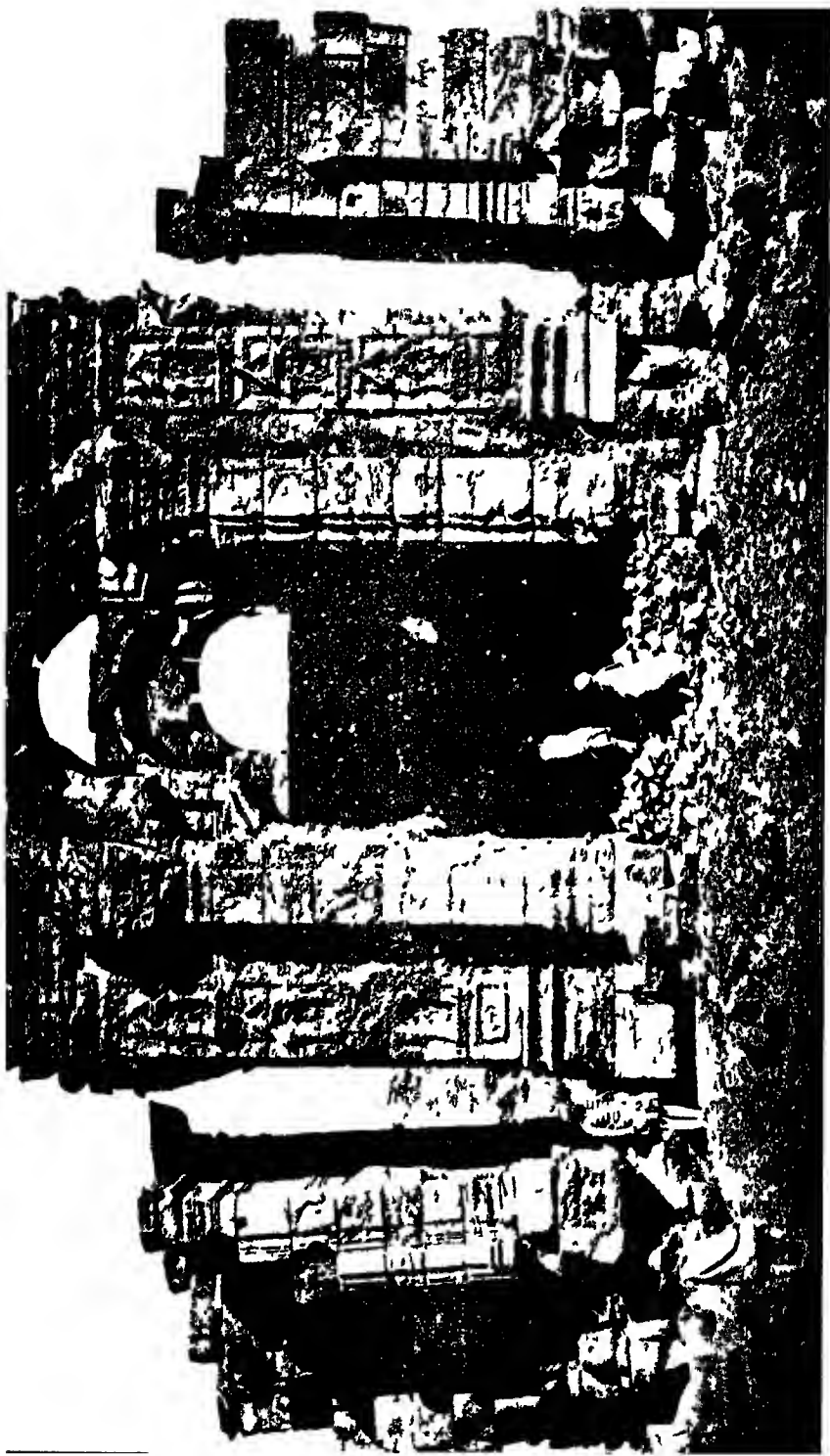
It will be seen that in time, the foreign elements introduced by way of Bactria were completely absorbed and Indianised, and in the words of Professor Oscar Münsterberg, "developed under national and Buddhist inspiration into a new and genuine art". From the Gandharan art there is an imperceptible transition to Indian classic, which is more *mouvementée* and distinguished by more slender forms and greater delicacy and mastery of technique.

The rich antiquarian remains of the Gāndhāra region were first brought to notice about 80 years ago by Mr. C. Masson, Dr. Hönigberger, General Ventura and Captains Court and Cautley. The Manikyala and other stūpas were opened and large numbers of Græco-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins were collected together with some sculptures. These excited much interest among the scholars at the time; and after the Punjab came under the British rule in 1849, wider scope was afforded to investigators; the ancient sites, particularly in Yusufzai and Takhti-Bahi became accessible and soon yielded numerous sculptures, which are treasured in various museums. The late Sir Clive Bayley obtained the first collection at Jamalgarhi, but—placing these valuable sculptures in the Crystal Palace for exhibition—they were destroyed by fire in November 1866, and this before they had even been photographed. But the existence of an Indo-Hellenic school of sculpture was not generally recognised until 1870, when the late Dr. Leitner brought to England a considerable collection of specimens to which he gave the name Græco-Buddhist. The fact was so

¹ G. N. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*.

novel and surprising that one distinguished antiquary, Mr. Vaux, was bold enough to dispute it and to declare his inability to perceive any manifest traces of Greek art on the sculptures procured by Dr. Leitner. In a short time, however, evidence accumulated so rapidly, that no possibility of doubt remained and Prof. Curtius was able to announce that the discoveries opened "a new page in the history of Greek art". The largest collections are in the Museums of Lahore and Calcutta, and smaller collections have been sent to Victoria and Albert Museum at Bombay, to Madras, and even to Rangoon. Numbers have from time to time been acquired by private individuals and some have found their way to the British Museum, the Berlin Ethnographical Museum, the Louvre, the Edinburgh University etc.

To take two examples : one Hellenistic group, known from at least five or six specimens, is of special interest as being demonstrably adapted from a masterpiece of Leochares, an Attic artist of the 4th century B.C. His bronze work inspired many later copyists, who translated the theme into marble, with variations. One of the marble copies is in the British Museum, but the finest is in the Museo Pio Clementino at the Vatican. The subject is the carrying off of the beautiful boy Ganymede by an eagle, represented sometimes as the messenger of Zeus and sometimes as the god himself transformed. The "Garuda and Nāgini" from Sanghao in the Yusufzai country bears a striking likeness to the Rape of Ganymede of Leochares. The subject although retaining the essentials of the Greek myth, has been thoroughly Indianised, both in general treatment and by the substitution of a female for the boy. Again, a large statue found near Peshawar and generally regarded as the most striking piece in the large collection of sculptures in the Central Museum, Lahore, represents a royal personage seated in European fashion on a throne, his attitude being obviously reminiscent of that of the Zeus of Phidias. So it is obvious that some of the best finished works of Gandhāra



The Temple of Marttanda in Kashmir

(Doric Style.)

in Hellenistic style were executed by clever Indian imitators, and the term Græco-Buddhist applied to these sculptures was thoroughly justified.

No trace of the existence of Greek architecture, however, in either India proper or the borderland has ever been found, that is to say, no building yet examined was found to be designed on an entirely Greek plan or with an elevation exhibiting one or other of the Greek orders, Doric, Ionic or Corinthian. But the Indo-Hellenic architects freely used certain Greek architectural forms—columns, pilasters and capitals—for decorative purposes, much in the same way as the English architects of a century ago often applied a Greek pediment to the front of an English dwelling-house. The Doric column is found only in the late Kashmir style—the Kashmir columns most probably having been derived from the Greeks through Sassanian intermediaries.

• The Ionic column has been found in two temples on the site of Taxila, associated in one case with the coins of Azes I, who is supposed to have reigned between B.C. 90 and 40. More recently, two more quasi-Ionic capitals have been discovered, one at Patna and the other at Sarnāth, both of Asokan age, and said to resemble the capitals of the temple of Apollo Didymæus at Miletus.⁴

The abundance of modified Corinthian columns, pilasters and capitals in the art of Gāndhāra contrasts strongly with the total lack of Doric and the extreme rarity of Ionic forms. "The Indo-Corinthian capitals vary widely in detail, but all may be described as agreeing generally with the luxuriant cosmopolitan style in vogue throughout the Roman Empire during the early centuries of the Christian era. The introduction of the figures of Buddha in two cases may be illustrated from the Græco-Roman art of the time of Augustus and again two centuries later at the Baths of Caracalla."⁴ But just as the sculptures and paintings of the

⁴Y. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 121 ff.

Catacombs and the writings of the early Christian Fathers prove that no trustworthy tradition concerning the person of Jesus survived in the Church and that artists for several centuries felt themselves at liberty to give free scope to their fancy in delineating his image, even so, during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, Buddhist sculptors had not arrived at any settled convention as to the correct way of representing the effigy of Gautama the Buddha, whose real appearance in the flesh had been utterly forgotten. A long course of experiment was needed before Buddhist orthodoxy, guided by the later sculptors of the Gāndhāra School, settled down to the monotonous conventionality of the figures of Buddha, now manufactured by thousands and adopted with rare exceptions in all Buddhist lands. Ultimately, the conception of the Indian Yogi ascetic, as worked out in Gāndhāra, became dominant and passed through Khotan to the Far East.

We cannot attempt here a detailed study of the various Buddha figures, or attempt to follow the personal history of Gautama from his conception and infancy to the funeral pyre and the distribution of his relics, as depicted in numberless sculptures and reliefs. For in Gāndhāra art, as M. Foucher pertinently observes, Buddha is everywhere; and whatever be the form which he assumes, as a charming prince, emaciated ascetic or ideal monk, or by whatever name he may be called, whether it be Siddhārtha, Śramana Gautama or Buddha Śakyamuni, he dominates almost every composition. The early schools of Indian art were content to indicate his supposed presence by mere symbols, and did not presume to image his bodily likeness. Thus without exception all these sculptures come from Buddhist sites and were executed in the service of the Buddhist religion, so far as is known. No trace of works dedicated to Jainism or Brahminical Hinduism has been discovered. Moreover the subjects treated are not only Buddhist, but purely Indian. Buddha may appear in the

guise of Apollo, the god Brahmā in that of St. Peter or a door-keeper in that of Pallas Athené, but whatever Greek form it may be, the personages and incidents are all Indian and centre round the person of Buddha, whose image dominates the compositions. Herein lies the most obvious, and at the same time, perhaps the most important difference between the schools of interior India at Sāñchi, Bhārut or Bodh-Gayā, and the school of Gāndhāra, with cognate branches at Mathurā and Amarāvati. We should note in this connection that the Apollo type of the Alexandrian period, which was used as a basis for the Buddha-head, is a direct production under Hellenistic influence.⁵ But the sculptures of the Gāndhāra monasteries have had a lengthy development which cannot indeed, as yet be exactly determined. This is very apparent in the Buddha types, however, that along with an idealistic tendency which is preserved in the Greek types, there is also found a realistic one. To the idealistic tendencies belong - Buddha-heads with youthful, Apollonic features, with gently smiling mouth, half-shut eyes with soft, full, fleshy parts, finely-moulded nose and sharply defined, luxuriant and elegantly arranged hair. Along with this idealistic type of purely Hellenic formation, are found heads of Indian race, executed in the orthodox way. The hair is luxuriant and arranged in small locks as the canon requires. But the elongated ear-lobes are never missing, not even in the best heads. It appears that even this peculiarity, which shows so decidedly the laying aside of the royal ornaments, also arises from attempts made by Hindu artists in connection with the Buddha type, before the Gāndhāra sculptors idealised it. The naturalistic tendency likewise, working with purely antique materials, evidently did not appeal much to the Indian taste. It shows an austere, rather cold, Hindu face with a very coarse moustache. In purely Indian sculpture, no Buddha-head is seen with a moustache.

⁵ Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*.

But the old Chinese and Japano-Korean sculptures always give Buddha a moustache. This certainly corresponds with the examples of the Gāndhāra School, but how it comes about we do not know for certain. A testimony however is at our command from the Chinese sources. This is due to communications, which Dr. Hirth points out in his *Ueber fremde Einflüsse die Chines*, made by the artist Wei-chi-i-song of Khotan, who flourished in the Imperial Court of Chang-an-fu in the 7th century A.D. and upon whose influence the Indo-Bactrian elements of the eastern Asiatic art must be traced. The treatment of the drapery in the Buddha figures moreover of the Gāndhāra monasteries is to a great extent Grecian. The robe (*sanghati*) in upright figures is so laid round the body that it reaches to the ankles. In the finer ancient pieces and good replicas, the robe is so disposed as to show the contour of the body, the robe following the lines of the limbs in a natural and unconstrained way. Again, the Bodhisattva representation of Gandharan art is that of a royally attired young man, developed from the legend of historic Buddha, who was born a prince in the royal family of Kapilavāstu. They wear crowns or richly-ornamented turbans or curly hair; they are invariably dressed with bracelets, necklets and waist-chains. In common with the unornamented Buddha representations, they have the mark above the nose, called the *urna*, and the nimbus. The Bodhisattvas belong exclusively to the Mahāyāna or Northern Schools, and except Maitreya, they are unknown in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. In Ceylon and Siam the usual attendants of Buddha are Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana—the “disciples of the right and left hand,” with Ānanda, Kāśyapa, etc., standing by. In China, Ānanda and Kāśyapa frequently occupy the like positions or with Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra form a group of six, beside the Buddha. And as Buddhism spread, the converts naturally carried into their new religion much of their reverence for the old Hindu gods, and they found



The Bodhisattva Statues from Gandhara

(Indian Museum, Calcutta)

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that the traditions offered them already embraced Indra, Brahmā and others of their former divinities. Among the Hinayāna sects in the south, little change was made: Vishnu, Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa, etc., were simply accepted under their Hindu names. The Pantheon of the Northern or Mahāyāna School of Buddhism again, as it still exists in Tibet, China and Japan is the most gigantic in the world. But we cannot linger over the evolution of the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures as are depicted in the ecclesiastical art of Gāndhāra, but suffice it to say that the Gāndhāra School represents a long development which begins with antique forms, is rejuvenated by the Greek models and seems to end with Christian ones.*

The Gandharan sculptures however suggest problems and speculations of many kinds. Regarded as an authentic expression of early religious tradition, they control and illustrate the testimony of the Buddhist scriptures, throwing much fresh light upon the beliefs and practices of the early followers of the Mahāyāna. Viewed as a collection of sacred effigies they serve as a guide to the iconography of Buddhism, an aspect of the study specially attractive to Dr. James Burgess and Prof. Alfred Foucher. Considered as pictures of human life, they present as in a mirror, vivid images of almost every phase of the life of Northern India, lay and clerical, during several centuries. The artists cause to pass before our eyes landscapes, towns, domestic scenes, fields, trees and animals with unlimited realistic details. All the material objects of the civilisation of the times,—furniture, vehicles, arms, tools, and the rest—are depicted as they were used by the ancients, and numberless illustrations of the manners and customs of the times bring clearly before our imagination the way in which those ancients passed their days. Every class of the population from prince to peasant is represented; in short, no subject of human interest was regarded as material unsuitable for the sculptor's chisel. There can be no question

* Havell, *Handbook of Indian Art*; Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*.

concerning the high value of the Gandharan sculptures as documents of religious and social history.

In many sculptures of the Gāndhāra School moreover, the pictorial element is so strongly in evidence that one might imagine that an early school of painting had existed in Gāndhāra, whose extreme offshoot is represented to some extent in the Tibetan and Central Indian ecclesiastic paintings; for example, the nimbus and reliefs of Buddha teaching in a *vihāra*.⁷ Again, from the iconographic point of view, perhaps the most interesting of images found at Sahri-Balol, is that of a four-armed female divinity, carved in high-relief and about four feet high. Its preservation is perfect. Its right and left upper arms carry a bell and a trident, respectively, while in the lower pair are held the figure of a small child and a bowl. From the corners of the mouth project small tusks. Arms, neck and hair are decked with rich ornaments. At the feet are seen two worshipping small figures. There can be no doubt that M. Foucher is right in recognising in this strangely discordant image—a representation of Hārīti, the goddess of small-pox, in her original form of Yakṣiṇī, or ogress. Another group interpreting the frivolous legend, well-known in the Buddhist tradition and also localised in Gāndhāra, is the representation of Ṛṣi Ekaśṛṅga or Unicorn figured as carrying to town the courtesan who beguiled him. Regrettable as its mutilated condition is, enough remains of the saint's figure to show the remarkable realistic skill with which the Græco-Buddhist sculptors of Gāndhāra modelled it.

India has been the source of a colonial art of great importance, developed from the sixth century onward in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Laos and particularly in Java: and the great part of this colonial art is Buddhist. The most important school is the Javanese.⁸ Java was colonised by the Brahminical

⁷ See illustrations in cave XVI of Ajanta.

⁸ See the first article in this volume by Prof. Foucher, *On the Influence of Indian Art on Cambodia and Java*.

Hindus in the early centuries of the Christian era and largely converted to Buddhism a little later; the two forms of beliefs existed side by side until the Mahomedan conquests of the fifteenth century. The largest and the finest Buddhist monument is the *stūpa* of Borobudur in Java; here the procession galleries are adorned by a series of some 2000 bas-reliefs illustrating the life of Buddha, according to the *Lalitavistāra* as well as various legends from the *Diryāvadāna* and the *Jātakas*. The reliefs are so extensive that if laid end to end, they would cover a space of more than two miles.* Again, in the second century a golden statue, perhaps of the Buddha, was brought into China from the west; in the same century a Buddhist mission reached China from Parthia. Buddhism did not however immediately obtain a firm hold, and the Chinese were then as now partly Confucianist, partly Taoist and partly Buddhist. Naturally as the early Buddhist influences came through Western Asia, early Chinese Buddhist art exhibits some relation to the Græco-Buddhist art of Gāndhāra; but few traces of any work older than the fifth century now remain, and by that time the Græco-Buddhist elements were almost negligible or traceable only in minor details of ornament and technique. Under the northern Wei Dynasty of the early fifth century, however, there is an immense artistic activity, and the mountains and caves of Tatong are carved with countless images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of all sizes from miniature to colossal, and these works are the typical Chinese-Buddhist primitives. A great development of Buddhist sculpture also took place at Korea. These figures like those in China are hewn out of the living rock, in an environment of great natural beauty, far from the haunts of men. Buddhist art in India, as at Ajanta and still more in the Far East, is constantly thus associated with naturally impressive scenes. Were it not for this love of Nature

* Scheltema, *Monumental Java; Beschrijving Van Borobudur* samengesteld door N. J. Krom en T. Van Erp.

and for the institution of pilgrimage to sacred and far away sites, it would be difficult to account for the great part which is played in Chinese and Japanese art by landscape-painting, somewhat later. It is from Korea again, that Buddhist thought and art were introduced to Japan in the sixth century. The new faith met with considerable opposition there. The hero of the period of the first introduction of Buddhism to Japan is the renowned prince Wumayado, who prepared the seventeen articles of the Japanese constitution and wrote some remarkable commentaries on the Buddhist Sūtras, setting forth the teachings of Nāgārjuna; he is still worshipped by craftsmen and artisans as the Patron of the Arts. We find in the Japanese Buddhist works, a spirit of intense refinement and purity, such as only great religious feeling could have produced. Thus in China and Japan as in India, but in a different fashion, thought expressed in art developed from an early hieratic formation to a representation of the pure transparency of life. In one eloquent passage Mr. Binyon refers to the influence of Indian thought in shaping the artistic ideals of China and Japan: "The ideas of Buddhism saturate the art of China and Japan. To the Buddhist this world is transitory, vile and miserable; the flesh is a burden, desire an evil, personality a prison. And all through the classic art of those countries, though these conceptions have been turned to sweet and gracious uses in the life of human intercourse, and though the old Adam of humanity breaks forth from time to time in celebration of war, adventure and the deeds of heroes, yet the Indian ideal claims everywhere its votaries, and the chosen and the recurrent theme is the beauty of contemplation, not of action."¹⁰

More recently, expeditions from France, Germany, England and Sweden have thrown a vivid light upon Buddhistic art in Chinese Turkestan and the territories immediately adjacent to the Chinese provinces of Kan-su. In the south of this country

¹⁰ *Painting in the Far East*.

also, the art of Gāndhāra and subsequently that of mediaeval India, were transported, to be modified only by the exigencies of the plastic medium, namely clay, which the artists were obliged to employ, for quarry-stone does not exist in this region. From Khotan Buddhist art penetrated farther to the north-west towards the oasis of Kashgar and beyond to Tamchuk (to the north-east of Marālbāshi), where have been discovered sculptures of the pure Indian type.¹¹ More to the north, near the town of Kucha, numerous frescoes have been found in underground buildings, the subjects and execution of which are Indian with traces of Iranian and Chinese influences. To the east of Kucha, in the marshy regions of Lake Lobnor, other frescoes have been noted by the learned traveller, Sir Aurel Stein, as very remarkable and closely akin in the style to the works of Hellenistic art. Finally, outside Turkestan, but quite near to its frontier at Tun-huang, the "Grotto of the Thousand Buddhas," visited by Sir Aurel Stein and M. Pelliot, has supplied us with several specimens of Buddhist art dating from the sixth to the tenth centuries, which present a very remarkable mixture of Indian, Chinese, Persian and Tibetan styles.

A confusion of two different things is often made in speaking on the subject-matter of art. It is often rightly said, both that the subject-matter is of small importance and that the subject-matter of great art is always nearly the same. There is no fundamental distinction of arts as national—Indian, Greek or Italian. All art interprets life; it is like the Vedas, eternal, independent of the accidental conditions of those who see or hear. Hence if we should say that one is touched by the Italian and not by the Chinese primitives or by Greek and not by Egyptian or Indian sculptures, we understand that he has done no more than accept a formula. It is this habit of accepting formulas which makes it so often possible for one form of truth to be used in denial of all others: like Michael

¹¹ Sir M. Aurel Stein, *The Ruins of Desert Cathay*.

Angelo we are apt to say that Italian painting is good and therefore all good painting is Italian. This not only prevents our understanding the arts of other races, but is the chief cause of the neglect of living artists; patrons are not sufficiently sensitive to trust their judgment outside the accepted formulas. Thus the amazing serenity in moments of deepest passion is not quite confined to Indian sculptures; something very like it, and more familiar to Western students, is found in the gracious and untroubled Mænad furies of the Greek vases,¹² the irresponsible and sinless madness of the angry Bacchæ—"Is it joy or terror, ye storm-swift feet?" But how far away is this Indian and early Greek calm from the violence of the Laocoon and from the modern concept of the "man of action"!

¹² A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Arts and Crafts in India and Ceylon*.

THE PARTICULARITY OF 'THE HINDU' HISTORY AND THE GENIUS OF THE HINDU PEOPLE.

AKSHAYKUMAR SARKAR, M.A.,

Professor of History, Chittagong College, Chittagong.

In his excellent treatise, the *Meaning of History*, Frederick Harrison remarks that history supplies us with "landmarks to guide us in our search after worthy guides, or true principles for social or political action". Professor Seeley also has passed dictum on the study of history in the couplet,

"History without politics has no fruit
Politics has but in history its root"

In fact a serious student of history cannot but come to the conclusion that a barren study of past events without any conscious purpose of generalisation for applying the conclusions, to the solution of national or human problems, is worse than useless. The labour occupied in such study is not only misspent, but may also become mischievous as giving rise to prejudices and superstitions regarding national life or human destiny. It is not very rare to meet with such historical superstitions as 'the year 57 is a critical year in India', 'nations are mortal', 'history is not made but ordained' etc.

The study of Indian history should, therefore, be scientifically undertaken, with a view to find out the relation between the historical events and their effects on the national life, as well as, with the purpose of applying the knowledge thus gained to the solution of the present and the future problems of the country. The necessity for a scientific study of history has a special significance in the case of the Indian history for more than one reason. First, a proper study of

Indian history has been much neglected in the past ; secondly, historical facts about India have been so misinterpreted as to give rise to wrong conclusions and false generalisations ; and finally the true 'genius' of the Indian people—their particular mission among the nations of the world—and their success or failure in carrying out their mission have not been properly estimated, in fact it has escaped the notice of the historians of India that the country has not only been affected by historical occurrences which have taken place in other countries of the world but also has been under the particular influence of certain special incidents which have not taken place in the history of any other country : and thus, as Professor Hegel would say, Indian historians have failed to explain the historical facts in the country and to come to sound conclusions regarding them, because they did not take into account the particularity of the country and the 'genius' of its people.

Though objections may be urged against the particularist theory of history as urged by the German philosopher (i.e., his differentiation between the historical characteristics of the different nations); and though it may be pertinently pointed out, that there is a similarity in the histories of the diverse nations of Europe in the different periods, that the progress and decline of the militarism and the imperialism of ancient Greece and Rome, of the medieval Empire and the modern French unitary and the German federal monarchies, were not altogether dissimilar, yet it must be conceded that the theory of the illustrious Professor is not altogether incorrect when he points out the differences in historical 'genius' of different nations. His meaning would be clear if we try to find out the special missions of particular countries and if we try to analyse what is in our mind when we say that the Teutons possessed a peculiar capacity for constitutional government, or that the English are born sailors, or that their genius is to organise constitutional monarchy, or again that their mission is to spread the idea of constitutional liberty

throughout the world. Professor Hegel clearly illustrates his first principle when he points out the peculiarity of the ancient Orient—Egypt, Asia Minor, China, Persia, India etc.—in contrast to that of ancient Europe. A further analysis on the line of the Hegelian theory shows that the history of India can rightly be set apart as peculiar, i.e., in addition to the common characteristics of oriental peoples, the Indian Hindus have certain other traits which constitute their particular ‘genius’. This isolated and exclusive particularity of the Indian people must be an interesting study and it can only be fully realised after a thorough analysis of the Indian History.

After fully grasping this particularity of Indian history by an analytical study of the past events in the life of the Indian people, one can proceed further and can generalise conclusions which may be helpful in verifying the conception of the ‘genius’ of the country, and also can arrive at the guiding principles which may be helpful to the solution of the present and the future problems—political as well as social—of the Indian nation. But in order to arrive at sound conclusions from the fundamental conception of the ‘genius’ of the Indian people, one cannot do better than carefully shun the mere play of imagination or undigested empiricism of which historians are very often guilty. One cannot too strictly follow the logical and scientific process of studying history which has come into vogue not too early. The necessity of valid historical conclusions and the value of the true principles for social or political application cannot be exaggerated with regard to India as they will surely warn the people to avoid the pitfalls that have marred their opportunities in the past.

Many a scholar has attempted to trace the particularity of Indian history, but very few of them have gone beyond the commonplace truisms, such as, the lofty Himalayas and the blue ocean surrounding the country isolated it from the rest of the world, and developed a self-sufficient political unit averse to learn from others in its safe and proud

isolation, and thus destined to experience in the race of life in the world the inevitable lot of the hare in the classical story of the hare and the tortoise. Such truisms do not help us in solving the national problems of India as they are not perfectly sound as data from which one can start in quest of guiding principles for practical politics. Thus it is hardly possible to imagine what answer would come forth from those theorists who trace most of the misfortunes of this country to the dull self-sufficiency and the unwise aloofness of its ancient inhabitants, if they are shown that history speaks of the so-called self-sufficient and isolated people as a nation of enterprising merchants, world-renowned warriors and vigorously proselytising preachers. The isolation-and-self-sufficiency theorists would certainly be confounded by such an onslaught, which though in itself simple, is yet quite unexpected by those who in their lethargic deductions never tried to analyse and test the soundness of their data. Their first premises being unsound their conclusions cannot but be vicious.

Even with regard to the conclusion of the illustrious German savant above alluded to I must say that his maxims like the following "India is the region of fantasy and sensibility", are not of much help to us in arriving at useful principles of action. He misses the mark and mingles truth with error when he thinks that the political inferiority and their decadence of the Hindus were due to their idealism and dreaminess. The refined idealism and the neglect of environment might have been the cause, more or less, of their political decline, but these could neither be properly described as of the nature of dreams in vagueness, nor ascribed to the lethargy of thought. On the other hand they were the results of mature and rational thinking of the master-minds among the sons of ancient India. In fact such idealism might have been regarded as the deliberate policy of the great sages of India, who though responsible for ages to come for all the

good and the bad consequences of their teachings, are falsely accused as dreamy philosophers incapable of understanding their surroundings.

The true nature of this pure and ethical idealism in its political aspect is not different from what is regarded as the highest political ideal by some of the western philosophers of the modern age. But while the modern European and American idealists more or less qualify their statements about the ideal by adding that the ideal still remains unattainable, Hindu sages not only thought that it was quite attainable but also actively or passively lived up to that ideal. No European writer will ever dare to say that the maxim 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity', is not the noblest ideal, and none of them will perhaps object to the cults of 'human brotherhood', 'universal empire' or 'the attainment of rational freedom' as the goal of world politics. But in practice most of them will shrink from the difficulties in the way of the attainment of these ideal relations between different individuals or groups of individuals in the world. The smallness of their minds always indicates to them the impossibility of attaining the ideal and they would lay down practical rules of conduct not for the whole humanity, but only for particular nationalities, or for large or small groups of people. They can neither go far into the past nor into the future, and without any reference to the origin of the different groups of the same stock of people now regarded as different nations, and with perfect carelessness regarding the distant futurity of these nations, have adopted 'nationality' as the principle in practical politics, discarding 'humanity' or cosmopolitanism as a vague theory.

But the Indian sages, not only saw clearly the goal for humanity but also thought it possible to attain it. To them the cult of human brotherhood, or the attainment of rational freedom or the development of 'the universal state, was not an idle speculation, but a perfectly intelligible and realisable object to be attempted by active working or passive

suffering. Thus while in Europe, the tradition of the universal jurisdiction of the Roman empire broke down, and a new system of national politics arose at the beginning of the modern age with all its accompanying evils and perils to civilisation, the Hindus in their utter neglect of the principle of nationality but with firm faith in the principle of humanity, could avoid, at least, what are generally regarded as the maladies of the modern civilisation. In fact if we pause for a moment to consider the effects of the modern European nationalism we shall find it to have been as much the source of misery as of prosperity. The attempted or the proposed remedies for the evils of nationalism—international law, arbitration, the Hague Conference or the new-fangled idea of the League of Nations—have failed and will possibly fail; but the Hindus of ancient India seemed to have successfully solved the problem by adherence to their chosen goal of peace and renunciation and cosmopolitanism. Here it may be said that the suffering of the Hindus have been much greater than that of the Europeans, and also that their lofty goal was never realised, neither was there any historical attempt at its realisation. This criticism is only partially true and it may be shown that if the trials of the European peoples be fully taken into consideration—if we consider the horrors of the rule of the degenerate emperors, of the Hun desolation and the Barbarian irruptions, of mediaeval feudalism and serfdom, and of the more modern religious persecutions and political revolutions, and also of the frequent foreign wars and internal insurrections—the sum total is not less but perhaps greater than the misery of the Hindus from internal and external causes. Again, though it may be true that the Hindus never could fully realise their political ideal, it is not true that no attempt was ever made by them for its realisation, neither is it a fact that no advance towards it was ever made. In fact the attempt was never made so much through bloodshed and war which are certainly not the proper means to such an end,

as through love and sympathy, knowledge and teaching, renunciation of the national greed as well as abnegation of the individual self. Thus while for ages the master-minds of Europe devoted themselves to national glorification—expansion of territory and invention of machinery, suppression of strong neighbours and exploitation of the weak—the sages of India devoted themselves to the congenial task of finding out the way of *Dharma* not only in its spiritual sense but also in the worldly sense as Sir John Woodroff tells us. “Religion is the recognition that the world is an order or cosmos of which each man is a part and to which he stands in a definitely established relation; together with action based on and consistent with such recognition and harmony with the whole cosmic activity.” Thus while Europe has got her Napoleon, Frederick the Great, Machiaveli or Cavour to boast of, India has got her Buddha, Mahāvīra, Aśoka, Nānak and many another saint and reformer.

Here we find the definite conception of the difference between the genius of European civilisation and the European idea of progress, and of Indian civilisation and the Indian idea of progress. Whether the Hindus have failed wholly or partially and whether Europe has comparatively succeeded, it is impossible to judge between things categorically so different. The goals being entirely different the ways to them cannot but be completely divergent and any one who decries the achievements of ancient Indians fails to grasp the fundamental fact that the Hindus began with a broader outlook comprehending of the whole of humanity, while European nations confined themselves to a much narrower outlook, their own nationality. Thus while in Europe the narrower outlook of national independence, integrity and progress seemed to have been more or less assured at an ever-increasing cost in men and money, and to the sacrifice of many nobler sentiments, and perhaps not without much obstruction to the world progress, in India the broader and nobler outlook—humanity and

cosmopolitanism—was constantly kept in view, at the cost perhaps of nationalism and material progress.

Starting from the fundamental conception that while the European civilisation has got for its motto 'nationalism', the Hindu civilisation had for its basic principle 'cosmopolitanism' 'brotherhood' or 'universal humanity', to be attained by the perfection of the individuals, it may be possible to grasp the lessons of Indian history and to explain some of the most puzzling facts in the history of the Hindu period; such as, (1) why have the Hindus on almost all occasions been found inferior in their contests with their foreign invaders—Persians, Greeks, Scythians and Mahomedans? (2) why have they failed to take advantage of their splendid natural resources to excel in commerce and manufacture, production and consumption? (3) why could they not in their best days have established political superiority over their less civilised and less powerful neighbours? and again (4) why have they failed to give rise to a permanently organised national state comprising the whole of Hindustān.

These questions can be correctly answered only if the political spirit of the Hindus, their distinctive national 'genius' and their cosmopolitan goal—are constantly kept in view. In fact, the answer to all the four questions may be the one and the same, namely, that the Hindus in their politics never learnt to make a difference between individuals belonging to different nations. To them all the individuals, as creatures of God, are endowed with the same rights and capacities; and the accidental division of humanity into groups, could neither endow them with any different rights, nor could the natural and climatic differences in colour, stature or form justify any difference of treatment or generate any fundamental difference in capacity. The political or social man of the Hindus, like the 'economic man' of the classical economists, is everywhere the same. Thus to them—I mean to the greatest of them, the sages—it was not of much consequence whether the

governmental organisation fell into the hands of a group of persons belonging to a group different from theirs or remained into the hands of one of their own nationality, provided the progress to their goal was not arrested. True it is that there were numerous contests—and some of them very fierce and heroic too—but such contests were often sectional or local, and seldom national. Hindu history abounds in stories and anecdotes to indicate that the indifference of the highest thinkers in the land to politics was not due to the neglect.

I. WHY HAVE THE INDIANS AGAIN AND AGAIN BEEN DEFEATED BY THE FOREIGNERS?

No one can explain away the fact of these defeats by reference to such accidents that at the moment of victory Anangapāl's elephant was struck with an arrow and the king was carried away from the field and thus the battle was lost, or that the defeat was due to internal strife or to absence of organisation, or to mere personal devotion to the chief's as distinguished from attachment to the national cause. All these statements are but half truths, and so, instead of leading us to the solution of the problem, serve to mislead us. There may be accidents in national life, as there are accidents in the life of the individual, but these are, in both the cases, rather of the nature of an exception than the rule. Thus Alexander's successful ruse in crossing the Hydaspes or Anangapāl's accidental misfortune might or might not have been the cause of the defeat of the Hindus. But why was it that in almost all their contests with the invaders—in hundreds of battles and at widely d^{ifferent} ~~different~~ periods—they were found beaten? Where should we seek ^{an} ~~an~~ explanation? In numerical strength they were overwhelmingly superior to the enemy, nor were they wanting in martial spirit. From the European Greeks to the Asiatic Mahomedans, all successful invaders have been deeply impressed with their fury, courage, perfect indifference to death, and the *Johar* of Hindustān and the rushing of the

vanquished Hindu soldiers for self-immolation upon the swords of their victors, has ever remained unparalleled in the history of the world. India is aptly called the land of wonder and this fact of the *Johar* has been perhaps the greatest wonder in the land. So we see that the Hindus were never cowards; and the explanation of the easy defeat and tame submission of the Hindus, is to be sought not in their military incapacity but in their political ideal. They began their politics, as already has been intimated—with the wider outlook of human or world organisation and perfection, while European nations confined themselves to the narrower outlook of national organisation or at best to European civilisation. Therefore the people whose goal was not mere national independence in itself but the organisation of the whole of humanity by perfecting its individual units, were not so much grieved at foreign domination, and did not attach such significance to national independence, as do the modern Europeans, so long as the progress towards their goal—the attainment of perfect life in this world and in the next—was not interfered with. This may be fully understood if we pause to bestow a moment's thought on the fact that religious toleration has been a peculiar and unique feature in the Indian body politic in all ages and that religious persecution has never been successful in India; and also that in this respect the vanquished Hindus, like the conquered Greeks, have been the conquerors of their opponents, negatively always and in all cases, also positively, with only two comparatively modern exceptions. I mean the Persians, the Greeks, the Scythians and others have come and gone but the Hindu religion has ever remained unshaken and has in most of the cases ^{form justifi-} absorbed the foreigners within its liberal fold by the *suddhi* ceremony, of which a historical instance of great significance is to be found in the origin of some of the Rajput clans, the Agnikula and others. Even in the case of the Mahomedans whose motive for conquest was more religious than political, the fact could

not but be recognised by all the foreign rulers, with but one solitary exception, that the religion of the conquered Indians must not be touched if the domination of Islam in their land was to be preserved. Here is an instance of the negative triumph of the conquered Hindus over the conquering Mahomedans, a fact which is doubly illustrated, first by the attempts of the wisest and the ablest of the Mahomedan rulers of India, to base their empire on the sound foundation of toleration of Hindu religion and, if possible, on a new religion of universal toleration; and, secondly, by the attempts of a successor of Akbar the Great, to strengthen through persecution the basis of the empire by making Islam, if possible, the only (or at least the dominant) religion in India. In the first case a universal monarchy, the like of which has seldom been the fate of this country to witness, was established, and the great Rajput princes stood as the pillars of the Mahomedan Empire.

The above historical illustrations prove beyond doubt that so long as the attainment of individual perfection in this world or of spiritual life in the next was not interfered with, the Hindus cared little whether the king or the government was foreign or indigenous; but as soon as the idea spread, rightly or wrongly, that their spiritual life was in danger and that their sacred social system which was absolutely necessary for the attainment of their goal, was about to be transformed, all their latent heroism and sturdiness, all their spirit of sacrifice and capacity for organisation came forth in all its strength so that the mightiest governmental edifice of the age shook before it like a paltry reed in a river current of tremendous force. This is the ^{inherent} ~~we seek~~ Indian history so far as militarism and foreign domination are concerned. Thus the pledged word was more sacred to the Hindus than their national interests, and the foreign conquerors could safely rely on the Indian heroes and warriors for maintaining this domination so long as they did not foolishly interfere with the religious and the

social systems of the Hindus, which were so inextricably interwoven that they could not be separated from each other without tearing away the essential fabric of that inscrutable mantle that has kept the heart of Hindu India so mysteriously shrouded from foreign gaze ever since the earliest Vedic days.

Akbar the greatest Mogul-Indian statesman, with rare political insight, found out the true nature of the attitude of the Hindus to politics, which demanded nothing but freedom for individual self-perfection as a means of human salvation. Perhaps it occurred to his mind that some one of his successors sitting upon the throne of Delhi, based by him upon the goodwill and affection of the people, would succeed in establishing the Mogul empire upon the firm rock of an universal Indian religion. In this respect this oriental monarch, was far superior to his coupeers of the West in not exalting any one of the contending religions of the country—not even his own—but in founding a *new* religion based on the principle of universal toleration. The success of Akbar, the subsequent failure of Aurangzeb, the rise of the Marathas, the revival of the Rajputs and the conversion of the Sikhs from a religious into a military commonwealth, all point to the same conclusion, that the Indians were neither wanting in martial spirit nor in the capacity for military organisation, but all of them generally, and the best of them particularly, were rather apathetic to militarism, because they consciously before their minds an ideal of life which was not national cosmopolitan and which could not be attained by successful militarism.

WHY HAVE THE INDIANS FAILED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE
OF THEIR MATERIAL ENVIRONMENT IN COMMERCE AND
MANUFACTURE?

presented to her people unique and splendid
for material prosperity. As a unit of production

the country has rightly been pronounced to be a miniature world, a land which can be economically self-sufficient. In fact, in early times India was supposed to be a land of fabulous wealth which excited the cupidity of the foreigner in all ages. In bygone days the country prospered as perhaps no other country in the world ever did, and her surplus production was so vast, that a large number of her people could wholly devote themselves to intellectual pursuits and fine arts, indifferent to their material needs which bountiful nature supplied them practically without any effort on their part. It is manifest to all readers of Indian history that inspite of merciless spoliation of centuries, the country has still remained a land of economic wonders. Her architectural remains, her reputation for accumulated precious jewels and plate and hoarded coins, all point to the fact that in the past in spite of the characteristic neglect of material wealth by her people, the beneficent mother-land gave them so much more than they needed for immediate consumption, that there could not but be a vast accumulation of wealth. But it is also a recognised fact that in modern times the country is economically very poor and her people are lacking not only in comforts and needs of civilised life but even in the bare necessities of existence. Starvation is an ever present evil in the India of the day; famines are of such frequent occurrence that they are to be regarded as regular incidents in the economic life of the nation, and their dire effects—weak stamina and short life—have lost their keenness only by the fact of their chronic persistence. In a word, the fact remains that economically India, though in the vantage ground of the world in the earlier times, has now lagged behind the other nations as much as in other respects.

The reason is to be found not in the lack of the spirit of enterprise, nor in that of intelligent handling of the splendid natural resources of the country, nor in that of the other human

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factors of production, such as accurate calculation in respect of the future, proper manipulation and co-ordination of the several agents of production. Recent accumulation of historical evidence shows that the enterprise of the early Hindus, whether in maritime trade or adventurous colonisation, was not inferior to most of the contemporary peoples. The existence of numerous architectural monuments, religious temples, cave-excavations and irrigation tanks, the completion of each of which took several years and the labour of several thousand men, bear witness to the power of organisation and co-ordination of labour and other virtues leading to material greatness yet it cannot be gainsaid that in the long run the Indians not only have been found wanting in the economic competition with the other nations of the world, but also have been proved to be far inferior in economic qualities to most of the prosperous people at the present day. The cause of this lies in the peculiarity of their national end which could not be secured by production or accumulation of wealth, but by some other means. They attached supreme importance to those attributes and surroundings of life which would lead to the development and perfection of individuals. Their whole energy, nationally and individually, was concentrated towards this end, and so their economical functions were more or less neglected. Rightly or wrongly even in European countries there was a spirit of condemnation against too much hankering after wealth, or money-mania, or Mammon-worship, and the progress of the science of economics was much obstructed by the idea that, after all, the knowledge derived from its study is not of the highest order of importance to humanity. If the idea of immortality or after-life be not altogether kept out of the human mind, and if the short span of life in this world be not regarded the be-all and end-all of human destiny, then certainly men would be confronted by thoughts which will bring home to them the importance of many things other than the production, consumption and accumulation of material wealth. Even if

the philanthropic idea of perfecting the individual, advancing the nation or civilising the world be clearly and steadily kept in view, then the present industrial arrangement and the economic situation of the civilised world with all the accompanying evils to individuals as well as to the nations and to humanity—heartless competition, unjust distribution, selfish appropriation of the natural resources, barbarous methods of production, fraudulent adulteration of articles, injurious monopolisation and combination, economic wars and the retardation of the progress of the less civilised peoples of the world through the deliberate policy of keeping them down by the forcible occupation of their lands, dumping of foreign goods in their countries and the other western methods of spoliation—cannot be too strongly condemned. In short the present individual or national money-mania has been a serious obstruction to the perfection of individuals and to the progress of nations. It has divided christendom into so many hostile camps for sordid lust of wealth, which is falsely regarded by the bias of the money-maniacs, as the machiavellian means to a noble end—national prosperity and power. From the results of this idea in the past and from the indications of the present, from most of the international wars of the last few centuries and the domestic bitterness that is being increasingly manifest between the capitalist and the labouring classes at present—one can easily perceive what seeds of evil are rapidly germinating under the smooth surface of national prosperity. The recent rise and the rapid spread of Bolshevism with all the horrifying revelation of revolutionary crime and misery in its train, cannot but be taken as evidence of the natural retribution for the class oppression and injustice continued through so many generations of the so-called contributors to the national prosperity. Can it be said in truth, with all this as a result of the economic activity of Europe, that the world is becoming better and nobler or that humanity is happier and more prosperous as a whole? Can it be said that the greatest brains

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of the age are engaged in solving the eternal problem of the world, devoting themselves to the task of lessening human misery or of increasing human felicity? The amassing of wealth by a few at the cost of the many and the increased material prosperity have been the *summum bonum* of human life as taught by the cleverest men of Europe or America, those who from their high intellectual capacities might have been regarded as born for something nobler and better.

If the results on humanity of the economic activity of the western people have been so deplorable, and if Europe has not advanced morally or in true civilisation in spite of her wonderful material prosperity, it is perhaps possible not to pass an altogether adverse judgment against the ancient Indians for their apathy to the material welfare of their country, and it may be legitimately doubted whether the present economic misery of the Indians is due to the foolish apathy of their ancestors or to the wickedness of the outside world. The economic wants of the ancient Hindus were few, and they could live their allotted span in this world in a simple and natural way and go on towards its goal of perfection without creating the demand for those artificial and conventional necessities, the satisfaction of which is engrossing almost the whole attention of the world in modern times. The Indians never thought that it was necessary to exploit the earth or men with brutal pertinacity for satisfying the artificially created wants, which instead of contributing to the goodness of men and helping them to realise the glorious end of humanity, only lead to moral and social degeneration. To them the goal of humanity was neither individual riches nor national prosperity, but the solution of the human problem—finding out the true path to eternal happiness; and hence their leaders and sages—their Gautama and Mahāvira, their Rāmānuja and Śaṅkarācārya, their Aśoka and Vikramāditya—devoted their tremendous energies and extraordinary capacities not to the organisation of the productive or destructive agencies but to the solution of the eternal

problem of life—to the attainment of spiritual welfare. To them the development of soul was of far greater moment than the development of body and one of their great teachers said :

सच्छन्दवनजातेन शार्कनापि प्रपूर्यते ।

अस्य दग्धोदरस्वार्थे कः कुर्वीत पातकं महत् ॥

On the other hand the 'factory acts' and the 'trust laws' indicate the mentality of the European producers. Here one's mind painfully broods over the contrast between the efficacy of the simple religious and moral sanctions against the crime of food adulteration in India before the advent of the Western economic methods in the country, and the sad failure of the stringent legislation of the modern powerful government for the prevention of the injurious mixture in food-stuffs. Again it may be said that one would have to pause before passing an unfavourable judgment against the economic life of the ancient Indians and giving an unqualified verdict in favour of that of the modern times. The retort that points to the frequent famines and chronic starvation, and the resulting evils of short life, infant mortality and slow decay of the Indian people, is not only irrelevant to our topic but also irrational and valueless in finding out a remedy for the present situation, as these are the effects not of the ancient economic organisation or want of economic enterprise of the Hindus but the direct and inevitable results of the selfish and brutalising material activity of the western civilisation, which cannot be removed by perpetuating the defective system or by making it work more vigorously.

But whatever may be the opinion regarding the goodness or the badness of the system, our question about the so-called failure of the Hindus in taking the full advantage of their splendid environment, has but one answer; and it is that the Hindus neglected material wealth not on account of their

dullness in understanding the true interests of their country, but with a deliberate purpose and with perfect realisation of the effects of their conduct on their social and economic life. This goal was definitely conceived to be the good of the whole of humanity and not the mere material prosperity of a single country which very often ends in degenerating vices, such as brutal selfishness, pride, immorality and want of spirituality. The Hindus, therefore, had to renounce, for the realisation of this goal, those practices and habits, which instead of reducing human wants would encourage their irrepressible tendency to increase like the hydra-headed monster.

III. WHY COULD THE HINDUS NEVER TAKE POLITICAL ADVANTAGE OF THE WEAKNESS OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES AND WHY ARE THERE NO INSTANCES OF GREAT HINDU EXPEDITIONS INTO THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES, MEMORABLE FOREIGN WARS AND PROFITABLE CONQUESTS ?

It has been seen already that the Hindus were not inferior in military capacity or martial spirit to any nation of the world. We know also that the Hindus belonged to that noble Aryan stock of humanity, the branches of which are now masters of the whole earth, and in the ancient times swept away every other race from the covetable habitations in the world by their irresistible prowess. The Hindus of India as the direct descendants of this parent stock of the Indo-European peoples, amply proved themselves to have inherited among the other virtues of this world-conquering stock, the irresistible martial spirit that made it triumphant everywhere. As their brethren were always victorious in their struggles with the Semitic peoples in western Asia and eastern Europe, so they too overcame the almost unsurpassable difficulties of their situation in the Land of the Five Rivers during the earliest days of their settlements. From the scraps of historical

evidence gleaned from the pages of Vedic literature, it can be vividly conceived how arduous was the struggle of our white forefathers with their black opponents, whom they ousted from their fertile native homes, how precarious was the existence of a handful of scattered Aryans among the multitude of hostile natives and how bitter and bloody was the life and death struggle between the two races. In the Epic and the Puranic periods also, the extolling of the military virtues as essential attributes of kingship, the frequent and brilliant descriptions of the internal conquering progress for suzerainty, indicate unmistakably that the Indo-Aryans had neither lost their military capacity nor their martial spirit, at least for centuries after their first settlement in India, whatever might have happened to them afterwards on account of the enervating climate of the country and the peace-preaching *śāstras*. The very few instances of outward expeditions that they made, had their origin not in any greed for foreign conquest, nor in what is regarded by modern civilisation as a noble end—national aggrandisement—but for moral purposes, for the vindication of national honour and in order to award deserved retribution, as in the case of the Rāmāyaṇic war, or for the sake of a time-honoured kingly pastime, as was Raghu's *digvijaya*. But these expeditions were never for the occupation of a foreign territory, nor for the imposition of an indemnity; neither was a national wrong made an excuse for an eternal vendetta or for a permanent subjection and cruel exploitation of the conquered land or the vanquished people. Such aims have been mistakenly regarded by other peoples as the noblest for a nation, but they are really nothing but selfish and obstructive to human progress in practical application. The militarism of the Indian kings was regarded merely as a matter of honour, and the prize of their success was nothing but a sentimental satisfaction—a triumphant entry or a suzerainty unconnected with any material advantages—like the laurels in ancient Greece. Thus the princes who were

vanquished as well as he who had won the victory, could co-operate without any mental reservation in the *Aśvamedha* ceremony that usually followed such wars, and they remained true and sincere friends ever afterwards. Not only this but during the actual fighting they were friends in the intervals of truce or the recognised periods of rest after the day's or the season's fighting. This has been again and again illustrated in the war of the *Mahābhārata* and with the finest touch of idealism in connection with the history of King *Danḍi*. Thus we find that true peace was possible in Indian civilisation after war, and the social amenities upon cessation of hostilities were sincere, and there was not, as in Europe, an armed, patched up and insecure peace, which neither party intended to sacredly observe, but did so under the force of the necessity of the moment. In foreign wars too as soon as the youthful and overflowing energy of a newly crowned head had spent its first honourable outburst, the glorious conqueror returned home to mind his higher and more peaceful duties, leaving the vanquished foreigners in peace, without any permanent interference in their affairs, to go along their own way to their national goal, and also without any material or selfish advantage to his own country. Wars, internal or external, were mere matters of honour and games for excitement to the Indian kings, like the ancient Olympic games or gladiatorial contests and the modern horse races, international football and cricket matches and similar other feats of valour and skill.

Thus the answer to the question why the Indians failed to extend their political boundaries at the cost of the neighbouring nations, as did the Egyptians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans of the ancient times, and the Mahomedans and the Teutonic races of the mediaeval ages did, and the powerful European nations of modern times do at present, is to be found neither in the want of military capacity, martial spirit, and organising ability, nor entirely in the enervating climate of

their country, but in the goal of Indian life—the solution of the human problem. The best of Indians devoted their time and energy to find out the way to the eternal truth, divine perfection, universal happiness and peace here and in the life hereafter.

IV. WHY HAVE THE INDIANS FAILED TO BRING INTO EXISTENCE A PERMANENTLY ORGANISED NATIONAL STATE LIKE THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN, PERSIAN OR ROMAN EMPIRES OR LIKE THE MODERN NATIONAL STATES OF EUROPE ?

It is a fact that Hindu India has seldom been a universal monarchy unlike most of the ancient empires, and the modern civilised states. Excepting a very few cases the political system of India remained decentralised, and even on those few occasions when there was centralisation of the governmental machinery in India, it soon came out of gear and became disorganised, as was the case with the Maurya and the Gupta empires. As in the Middle Ages the formal authority of the Holy Roman Emperor was, as a matter of sentiment, thought to pervade the whole of the Christendom, so in ancient India the authority of a suzerain who performed successfully the Rājasūya or the Aśvamedha sacrifice was accepted by the other princes, but in fact, for all practical purposes, they were as independent of an Indian Rājachakravarti as William the Conqueror was of the Emperor. In spite of the historical evidence with regard to the Imperial sway of the Mauryas and the Guptas, it must be admitted that unity and centralisation in the political system of India were in the past rather of the nature of an exception than rule. In the Epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, in the Purāṇas, in dramatic and lyric literature, as well as in the semi-historical and historical records of Hindu India, we always find the picture of the country as consisting of numerous princes

and ruling dynasties perfectly autonomous and mutually independent.

The inevitable conclusion is that India was very seldom a political unit, perhaps on very few occasions and for comparatively short periods the country was something like a federal empire, but never a completely centralised national state. The reason of this is to be found again in the ideal of the Hindus which was not the attainment of a unified and powerful national life for themselves, organised exclusively of all the other nationalities, and ever on the watch for opportunities of national aggrandisement at the cost the neighbouring peoples in particular and of humanity in general. The epoch-making centralisation of the scattered governmental power of France by Louis XI, the husbanding of the national resources by Henry IV and by the great French ministers of the period, were necessary for the national aggrandisement of France at the cost of her neighbours. But how could such devices have been of any use to a people who not only never cared for national glory and power at the cost of any of their neighbours, but who fully realised also the cruelty and the crime, the immorality and the sin of war for national selfishness? Thus in a country where the main motive for political centralisation was absent, where the immemorial tradition was that of a decentralised political system, and where the units of the administrative organisation were the indestructible village communities, unique in their simplicity and usefulness, how can it be expected that any one would care to bring into existence a huge machine of government, which would have been much more unwieldly than it is in these days of easy communication, which is not only costly to maintain but ruinous in the case of an accidental breakdown, in the place of the European well-organised and easily workable small units neither in town nor in close personal touch and sympathy with organising ability vitally concerned? The ideal of all the

numerous independent governments of the country was the same, their relations to each other were not merely diplomatic but friendly and affectionate, their matrimonial alliances were far less for political purposes than for domestic happiness and there was no necessity for considering the question of the balance of power among them as they all believed in the sin of a war for conquest.

Thus we find that the answer to our fourth question is not different from that to the other three. The Hindus never considered that a strongly centralised political organisation was necessary for the attainment of their national ideal; and perhaps they were impressed with the vices of the plenitude of political power as leading to degeneration and imperiousness, international injustice, oppression and greed. That they were partially right in thinking so must be admitted, though the consequences of their political attitude were not an unmingled good either to themselves or to the world.

In conclusion we may say that the lessons of Indian History are to be studied in the light of this peculiar national goal of the Hindus; they should be sought in their conception of the eternal problem of humanity and in their clear enunciation of human duty which was not national but individual as well as cosmopolitan. The lessons are to be found in the broad Hindu outlook which effaced from the mind's view the barriers of geography and ethnology, in the tolerance of all religions and in the hatred of all that is not true and moral, in their forbearance in the days of power from aggressive war, and lastly in their love of peace and spiritualism and apathy to militarism and materialism.

The Hindus were never a politically successful nation not because they had no political or military capacity but because their ideal was higher; the type of their civilisation was perfectly moral and their mission was not oppression and spoliation, but love and sympathy, philosophy and religion. They were never successful in establishing empires

like the Romans and the other European nations, not because no genius was born in their country comparable to Alexander the Great or Napoleon, but because their national 'genius' gave their master minds a characteristic turn to devote themselves to find out the path of salvation, universal peace and brotherhood. This is the particularity of Hindu history and the 'genius' of the Hindu people.

EARLY INDIAN SEAMEN

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA, B.A.,

Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

We all remember the storm of controversy that arose when Hindus returned from Europe first sought admittance to the orthodox Hindu society. The sacred texts depended on by those who stoutly opposed this innovation are two in number derived from two minor Purāṇas, *Āditya* and *Bṛihannāradya* and quoted by Raghunandan in his *Udvāhatattra*. In these texts it is laid down that sea-voyage (*samudra-yātrā*), intercaste marriage and certain other customs are forbidden in the Kaliyuga which, according to the Hindu chronology, began in B.C. 3101. But the archaeological and literary remains of Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago disclose the fact that the injunction regarding sea-voyage was more honoured in the breach than in observance for a very long time even in the Kaliyuga. The Brahmanic Sanskrit inscriptions of Borneo and Annam, the Kavi literature of Java, the stupendous Hindu monuments of Cambodia of which we have a brilliant account from the eminent French *savant*, Dr. Foucher, the survival of Hinduism in some of the villages of Cambodia and the island of Bali, and other documents bear unerring testimony to the fact that during the first millennium of the Christian era and for some time after Hindus regularly undertook sea-voyages either to found colonies in these lands and islands or for commercial purposes. This disparity between Hindu usage backed by sacred texts on the one hand and the monumental records of Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago on the other is one of the riddles of Indian social history. Professor Radhakumud Mukherji has dealt with the history of this phase of Indian life in his well-known *History of Indian Shipping*

and the *Maritime Activities of the Hindus*. Referring the readers to that work for the general history of the maritime activities of the ancient Hindus a few details relating to the way in which those activities were carried by the population of Eastern India will be given here, and a few suggestions offered towards the solution of the riddle.

The *Dharmaśāstra* of Baudhāyana, one of the earliest extant works of the kind, the bulk of which is assigned by Bühler to the fourth century B.C., furnishes us with materials for the solution of this riddle as far as Ancient India is concerned. Baudhāyana (II. 2. 2) includes sea voyage (*samudra-samnyāna*) among the sins that render a man an outcaste (*patanīyāni*) and provides expiatory ceremonies.¹ In the beginning of his work, however, Baudhāyana (I. 2. 1-4) enumerates the special practices regarding which there is difference between the Northern and Southern India. Among such special practices of the south he names five, one of which, marriage of maternal uncle's daughter, is still current; and among the special practices of the north he names sea-voyage (*samudra-samnyānam*). Baudhāyana then adds that each set of special practices may be tolerated in the area in which they are usually practised, but not beyond its borders, that is to say, sea-voyage is sinful for a southerner but permissible for a northerner. Baudhāyana's own view that sea-voyage is permissible in the north is apparently in conflict with what he says about the seat of authoritative usages. He says that the country to the east of Vinasana (the place where the river Sarasvatī disappears), to the south of the Himālayas, to the north of the Pāriyātra (one of the Vindhya ranges), and to the east of the Kālakavana is called Āryāvarta, and whatever is practised in this region is authoritative. We do not know for certain where Kālakavana is, but it may be assumed that Baudhāyana's Āryāvarta is contemporaneous with Manu's Madhyadesa which

¹ See article by Dr. Gangānāth Jhā, *Baudhāyana's Prāyaścitta for Sea-voyage* in Vol. III, Part 1 of this set.

extended from the Vinasana in the west to Prayāga (Allahabad) in the east and comprised Kurukshetra and the country of the Matsyas, Pañchālas and Śūrasenakas. If Āryāvarta of Madhyadeśa was included in what Baudhāyana calls North (*uttarataḥ*) then sea-voyage would have been recognised as an orthodox usage that could be practised everywhere. But as Baudhāyana does not recognise sea-voyage as an orthodox usage, we have to assume that it was practised not in the Madhyadeśa or middle country but only in the outer countries of Northern India. This is quite evident from what Baudhāyana says about the inhabitants of the outer countries. He writes :

“The inhabitants of Avantī, Anga, Magadha, Surāṣṭra, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Upavṛt, Sindh and Sauvīra are of mixed origin (*saṁkīrṇa yonayaḥ*).

“He who has visited the (countries of the) Āratas, Kāraskaras, Puṇḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kālīngas (or) Pranunas shall offer a *punaḥstoma* or *sarvaprṣṭhi*.”

By calling the inhabitants of Avantī (Malwa), Aṅga, Magadha (South Bihar), Surāṣṭra, (Kathiawar) and Sindh as of mixed origin, Baudhāyana clearly recognised the ethnic difference between the people of the outer countries on the one hand and of Āryāvarta or Madhyadeśa on the other and by forbidding the inhabitants of the latter region to visit the maritime countries like Vaṅga and Kālīnga he practically declares sea-voyage forbidden on the part of the inhabitants of the Madhyadeśa. The same injunction that visit to outer maritime countries is sinful is repeated in other texts and is well-expressed in a well-known stanza quoted by modern compilers of *smṛtinibandhas* which runs thus :—“He who visits Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kālīnga, Saurāṣṭra and Magadha except on pilgrimage should go through the ceremony of initiation anew.”²

² अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गेषु सीराङ्गेमगधेषु च ।

तीर्थयात्राविना तत्र पुनः संस्कारमर्हति ॥

As visit to maritime countries was strictly forbidden sea-voyage was out of the question for the people of the Madhyadesa. But Baudhāyana's testimony clearly shows that in his day sea-voyage was regularly undertaken by the inhabitants of the outer countries of Northern India. Turning to the east we find that in Baudhāyana's day the inhabitants of Magadha and Aṅga are considered as of mixed origin and so intercourse with them is forbidden by implication, and visit to the maritime countries Benga and Kalinga is openly forbidden. Between Madhyadesa on the one hand and Magadha, Aṅga and Puṇḍra on the other, there are then other peoples, the inhabitants of Kośala, Kāśī, and Videha who are frequently mentioned in the later Vedic texts but passed over in silence in the *smṛti* texts of the sort we have been discussing. The reason probably is that though these peoples were not considered as mixed in origin like the Magadhas and the Aṅgas, they were not recognised as quite orthodox on account of their close connection with the mixed and the maritime provinces. All the data that we possess support this assumption. Our authorities show that from the earliest known times the inhabitants of Kośala, Kāśī, Videha, Aṅga, and Magadha were carrying on trade with countries lying beyond the seas through the sea-ports of Bengal. For the purpose of this sketch I shall divide the early history of Eastern India into three periods: (1) the later Vedic period covered by the Brāhmaṇas and the prose Upanishads forming integral parts of the Brāhmaṇa texts; (2) the Buddhist period extending from the fifth century B.C. to the end of the third century A.D.; and (3) the Mediaeval period from the fourth century to the end of the twelfth century A.D.

For the later Vedic period we shall cite two passages. In the *Pañcatantra Brāhmaṇa* we are told that "those who go to the sea without ship do not come out of it."¹

¹ वी वा नवः समुद्रं प्रयाति न च तत उद्दिति । (xiv. 5. 17).

The *Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa* says, "Know that this *triṣṭubh* formula is the first among the hymns that I am to recite. Those who perform annual *satra* or *dvādaśūha* are like men who wish to cross the sea. As men who desire to cross the sea get into ship full of provisions, so these performers of *satra* use *triṣṭubh* formula."¹

We do not know to which parts of Vedic India these texts refer.

For the Buddhist period our main sources of information are the sacred books of the Buddhists, though the sacred books of the Jainas and the Brāhmaṇas also furnish valuable data. Prosaic statements of secular facts were repugnant alike to the Śramaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas who wrote the sacred books of the different sects. But folk-memory could not forget the plucky men who daily risked their lives in the limitless sea. So there arose folk-tales with seamen, *samudra-yātrikās* and *samudra-vaṇikās*, as their heroes. The Buddhist monks found it convenient to introduce some of these tales into their sermons, and to this accident we owe the preservation of a considerable number of old-world tales relating to seamen in the shape of *jātakas*, 'birth stories', and *avadānas*, 'stories of remarkable deeds'. Four old collections of Jātakas and Avadānas are now accessible to students: the Pali *Jātakattha-kathā*, the *Mahāvastu-avadāna*, the *Divyāvadāna*, and the *Avadānaśataka*. The *Mahāvastu* is the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādins of the Madhyadeśa. The *Divyāvadāna* contains tales that are mostly borrowed from the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The *Avadānaśataka* was translated into Chinese in the first half of the third century A.D. From the tales of seamen contained in these works we gather that in all the great cities of eastern India, such as Srāvastī, capital of Kośala, Bārāṇasī (Benares), Rājagṛha, capital of Magadha and Champā (near Bhagalpur),

¹ चिदुभौ स इमाः सूक्तप्रतिपद इत्येव विद्यात् तद्यथा समुद्रं प्रह्वयेरक्षीं चैव ते प्रह्वये ये संबद्धं वासते तद्यथा सैरावती' नाभं पारकामाः समारोह्वुरिदमेवेता चिदुभः समारोह्विति । (vi. 21).

capital of Aṅga, there were merchants engaged in sea-borne trade and personally undertaking sea-voyage.

Merchants from inland cities travelled to the sea-ports in caravans with their merchandise (*mahāsamudragamanīyam paṇyam*) and these embarked in sea-going vessels called *vāhanam*. In a passage of the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* we are introduced to a number of merchants who were going to the sea shore. "After that night had passed away", we are told, "and the best of Brāhmaṇas had left the house, Gautama, issuing from his abode, began to proceed towards the sea, O Bhārata! On the way he beheld some merchants that used to make voyages on the sea. With that caravan of merchants he proceeded towards the ocean. It so happened, however, O king, that the large caravan was assailed, while passing through a mountain valley, by an infuriated elephant. Almost all the persons were slain."⁵

The ports where the merchants embarked are not named in the tales. If we can believe the stories about Aśoka narrated in the *Mahāvamśa*, Tāmalittī or Tāmraliptī was the sea-port of Eastern India in the Maurya period. In the *Mahāvamśa* (XI. 37-38) it is said that the envoys of Devānampiya Tissa, King of Lankā, who had been sent to the court of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra, on their return journey, and Aśoka's own envoys with presents for the King of Ceylon "embarked at Tāmālitik and landed at Jambukola", the port of Ceylon. Aśoka is said to have sent the branch of the Bodhi-tree through the same port. The emperor, we are told in the *Mahāvamśa* (XIX. 4-6), "brought the great Bodhi-tree to a ship on the Ganges, and likewise the *therī* Saṃghamittā with eleven *bhikkhunis*, and when he had caused those among whom Ariṭṭha was first to embark on that same ship, he fared forth from the city, and passing over the Viñjhā mountains the prince (Aśoka) arrived, in just one week, at Tāmalittī". That is to say Aśoka despatched the Bodhi-tree in charge of the monks

and the nuns by a boat and himself proceeded to the port of Tāmralipti by land over the Vindhya range or the hills of Chhota Nagpur.

In two of the tales of the *Avadānaśataka* (Nos. 36 and 81) five classes of the crew (*pañcha pauruṣeyān*) and four classes, viz., *Āhāra*, *Nāvika*, *Kaivarta*, and *Karṇadhāra* are referred to. In the *Dharmarucyāvadānam* of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 229) are mentioned the dangers of the sea. These are, dangers from whale (*timi*), *timingila*, waves (*ūrmi*), tortoise (*kūrma*), danger of destruction on land (*sthala-utsīdanabhayaṃ*) or loss in the water (*jalasamsīdanabhayaṃ*), danger of being struck by submarine rocks (*antarjalagatānām parvatānām āghaṭṭanabhayaṃ*), danger from *kalikāvātā* or cyclone and from pirates. The *vāhanas* or sea-going vessels must have been commodious. In a tale of the *Avadānaśataka* (No. 81)⁶ it said that a merchant (*sārthavāha*) went to the sea with his wife who gave birth to a son in the ship. In the *Uttarādhyāna Sūtra* of the Jaina Canon is told the story of a merchant who had a son born at sea. A passage of this story may be quoted here:—

“In Champā there lived a Śrāvaka, the merchant Pālita, who was a disciple of the noble and venerable Mahāvīra. As a Śrāvaka he was well-versed in the doctrines of the Nirgranthas. Once he went by boat to the town of Pihunḍa on business. A merchant gave him his daughter while he was doing business in Pihunḍa. When she was big with child, he took her with him on his returning home. Now the wife of Pālita was delivered of a child at sea; as the boy was born at sea (*samudra*), he was named Samudrapāla.”⁷

I do not know where Pihunḍa was situated. The tales supply us with very little geographical data about the lands visited by the Indian sailors. In the *Maitrakanykāvadāna* which occurs both in the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Divyāvadāna*.

⁶ ii, p. 61.

⁷ xxi, 1-4, *S. B. E.*, xlv, p. 108.

is named a city called Ramanaka which was inhabited by the Apasaras. In most of the tales the seamen are led to an imaginary island called Ratnadīpa.

The Ājñāta Kaundinya-Jātaka of the *Mahāvastu* (III, pp. 341-359) shows that the sea-going merchants were patronised and often financed by kings. Once upon a time there reigned a very pious king over Kośala. The King of Kāśī repeatedly invaded his kingdom and was as often repulsed. The great loss of human life on both sides that these wars involved at last touched the tender heart of the Kośala king, who, thinking that destruction of life was an inseparable concomitant of the kingly office, renounced his kingdom, and putting on disguise, set out for Dakṣiṇāpatha all alone. During his journey one day, while taking rest in the cool shade of a Nyagrodha tree, he happened to meet with a *samudrayātrika-sārtharāha* or seafaring merchant who had lost all that he had by shipwreck and was proceeding to Kośala from the southern sea with a view to seek the assistance of the king of that country. Requested by the ex-king to explain the object of his journey, the merchant told his story and concluded—"I am going to the King of Kośala for cash money with which I shall renew my business and save myself, fallen as I am."

Hearing this the ex-king began to shed tears. When the merchant came to know who his interlocutor was, he was so much disappointed and shocked that he fell into a swoon. The ex-king said, "As you have come here from a distance with your hope fixed upon me, I shall act in such a manner that you will not be disappointed. I shall sacrifice my life for you. Tie my hands behind me and take me to the King of Kāśī. Then the King of Kāśī will be pleased and pay you a very large sum of money". The merchant agreed to this proposal after some hesitation. The King of Kāśī had already offered a very handsome reward for the head of the ex-King of Kośala. But when the latter was produced before the King of

Kāśī, he was greatly astonished to hear the merchant's story, and restoring the ex-king on the throne of Kośala, returned to Kāśī. Then the King of Kośala, of course, paid the merchant a large sum of money.

The second object with which the ancient Hindus undertook sea-voyages was to plant colonies in lands beyond the seas. The chronicles of Ceylon enshrine the story of its colonisation by Hindus. The story of prince Vijaya of Lāla landing on the island of Laṅkā with a band of followers on the day on which Gautama the Buddha attained *Mahāparinibbāna* at Kuśinagara is very well known. But as there is some difference of opinion about the identity of Lāla and as doubt is entertained by critical scholars regarding the credibility of the story, it may not be out of place to inquire into the historical value of this story. Lassen proposed to identify Lāla with Lāṭa or Gujarāt and his opinion has met with the approval of some scholars. But the text of the *Mahāvamśa* as translated by Geiger leaves no room for doubting the fact that this Lāla is our Rāḍha (Western Bengal). Vijaya's paternal grandmother, King Siṃhabahu's mother, is said to have reached Lāla when she went forth from Vaṅga (Eastern Bengal) with "a caravan travelling to the Magadha country". On the way, "in the Lāla country a lion attacked the caravan in the forest", writes the author of the *Mahāvamśa* (VI. 4-5). So there can be no doubt that the Lāla of the *Mahāvamśa* is no other than Rāḍha in Bengal.

The credibility of the story has also been seriously doubted with good reasons, for stories contained in non-contemporary chronicles cannot be accepted as history without independent corroborative evidence, and independent evidence lending support to the story of Vijaya was inaccessible to us till recent times. This independent evidence is the peculiar language of the earliest Buddhist cave inscriptions of Ceylon published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, late Commissioner of Archaeology, Ceylon.^a

^a *The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* of October 1917 and January 1918

The script used in these short epigraphs Mr. Bell designates "cave characters" or early B. C. type of Brāhmīlipi. One important test letter of these records noticed by Mr. Bell is the wavy or "corkscrew *ra*". Wavy or screw-like *ra* is found in the earliest known dateable Brāhmī inscriptions of India, the rock edicts of Aśoka in Western and Southern India and the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus. Almost all the later inscriptions have straight lined *ra*. So the occurrence of wavy *ra* along with other archaic characters indicates that these early Ceylonese Buddhist cave inscriptions cannot be assigned to a date much later than the first half of the second century B.C. Mr. Bell has published the facsimile of one of these inscriptions. It is the Duwegala cave inscription. One very remarkable thing about this record is that it has to be read from right to left. Mr. Bell calls this *pratiloma* or reversed writing. The *ra* of this inscription is also wavy; the *ta* has an angular lower part; but the top of the *ga* is roundish. The language of the early cave inscriptions are characterised by the following features:

(1) Use of palatal *śa* to the exclusion of the cerebral and dental *as* in the Māgadhi Prakrit of the Prakrit grammars and in the Jogimāra cave inscription dating probably from the second century B.C.

(2) Nominative singular of *a*-stems ends in *e* as in Māgadhi and as in the Pillar edicts and the East Indian edicts of Aśoka.

(3) Unlike Māgadhi and the dialect used in the above mentioned edicts of Aśoka the retention of the *ra* sound.

(4) Like the spoken language of Eastern Bengal substitution of *ga* and *ba* for *gha* and *bha* and occasional substitution of *ha* for *sa*.

Philologists trace the origin of the Bengali language to the Māgadhi Prākṛit. But there is a closer connection between the Bengali language and the ancient cave dialect of Ceylon, than between the former and the Māgadhi Prākṛit

of the inscriptions and of the grammarians. The cave dialect of Ceylon appears to lie in the direct line of ancestry of the Bengali language and indicates that the language of Bengal separated from the Māgadhī before the second century B.C. This intimate connection between the earliest known phase of the Sinhalese language and the Bengali indicates that the story of the colonisation of Ceylon by a band of Bengali adventurers is not devoid of historical basis. How far the date of the landing of the adventurers is reliable it is difficult to determine. But that the island was colonised before the time of Aśoka is almost certain. It is said in the *Mahāvaṃśa* (VII. 40-41) that when the followers of Vijaya landed from their ship "they sat down wearied, resting their hands upon the ground—and inces their hands were reddened by touching the dust of the red earth, that region and also the island were (named) Tāmbapaṇṇi." Vijaya is also said to have founded a city called Tāmbapaṇṇi (VII. 39), that is to say, there was an ancient city in Ceylon called Tāmbapaṇṇi. In the Rock Edicts, Nos. 2 and 13 of Aśoka, Tāmbapaṇṇi and Tāmbapaṇṇiyas are named along with the Chodas, Paṇḍyas, Keralaputtas and Satiyaputtas as border lands where Aśoka sent missionaries of his *dhamma*. It may be noted in passing that the *dhamma* officially promulgated by Aśoka in his edicts is not exactly Buddhism but a moral code that might serve as a common platform for the Brahmanists, the Buddhists and the Jainas and its goal is heaven and not *nirvāṇa*. Tāmbapaṇṇi of Aśoka's edict is usually identified with Ceylon. But some scholars take it to refer not to the island of Ceylon but to the river Tāmraparṇī, one of the holy rivers of the ancient Pāṇḍya country. In the Girnar version of the Rock Edict II occurs the reading *ā-Tāmbapaṇṇi* and in the Mansera version of Rock Edict XIII *ā-Tāmbapaniya*. This *ā* or *a* probably stands for the *aba*, or *aḥam* of the other versions meaning 'and'. The

reference to the Pāṇḍyas by name renders the mention of a river in the Pāṇḍya kingdom superfluous for the purpose for which these geographical names have been introduced into the edicts of Aśoka, and therefore the identification of Tāmbapaṇṇi of the edict with Ceylon appears to be more reasonable. This reference to the island of Ceylon as one of the border lands in the edicts of Aśoka taken together with the traditions preserved in the *Dīpavaṃśa* and the *Mahāvamśa* relating to Aśoka's relations with Devanāmpiya Tissa, King of Ceylon, and Mahindra's mission, leads us to assume that Ceylon was colonised some time before the reign of Aśoka.

Missionaries not only of Buddhism but also of Brahmanism accompanied the merchants and the emigrants. The scriptural sanction for the propagation of Brahmanism among the aliens is contained in a dialogue of the *Mahābhārata*,⁹ between King Māndhātṛi and Indra which may thus be reproduced in translation :—

“Māndhātṛ said,—What duty should be performed by the Yavanas, the Kirātas, the Gandhāras, the Chinas, the Śābaras, the Barbaras, the Śakas, the Andhras, the Madrakas, the Pauṇḍras, the Pulindas, the Ramathas, the Kambojas, the several other castes that have sprung up from the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas, and the Śūdras, that reside in the dominion of (Arya) kings? What are those duties again to the observance of which kings like ourselves should force the Dasyu tribes. I desire to hear all this, O illustrious god; instruct me, O chief of all the deities, thou art the friend of us Kṣatriyas.

“Indra said,—All the *Dasyu* tribes should serve their mothers and fathers, their preceptors and other seniors, and recluses living in the woods. All the *Dasyu* tribes should also serve their kings. The duties and rites inculcated in the Vedas should also be followed by them. They should

⁹ *Sāntiparvan*, lxx, 13-22.

perform sacrifices in honour of the *pitṛs* (manes), dig wells (and dedicate them to universal service), give water to thirsty travellers, give away beds and make other reasonable presents unto Brāhmaṇas. Abstention from injury, truth, suppression of wrath, supporting Brāhmaṇas and kinsmen by giving them their dues, maintenance of wives and children, purity, peacefulness, making presents to Brāhmaṇas at sacrifices of every kind, are duties that should be practised by every person of this class who desires his own prosperity. Such a person should also perform all kinds of *pāka-yajñas* with costly presents of food and wealth. These and similar duties, O sinless one, were laid down in olden days for persons of this class. All these acts which have been laid down for all others should be done by persons also of the Dasyu class."

The Brahmanic monuments of Indo-China and of the East Indian Archipelago bear eloquent testimony to the fact that these injunctions were strictly followed or rather that these injunctions were framed to give scriptural sanction to the actual practice.

For the early part of what we have termed the mediaeval period, for the fifth to seventh centuries A. D., the records of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Fa-hien, Yuan-chwang and I-Tsing contain valuable historical evidence regarding the maritime activities of the Hindus carried on through the port of Tāmraliptī. Fa-hien's account of his voyage to China viâ Java is well-known. But an incident recorded in Hwui-li's *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* may be repeated. When Yuan Chwang proposed to Kumārarāja, that is, King Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarupa, that he would like to return to China, the king said, "But I know not, if you prefer to go, by what route you propose to return; if you select the Southern Sea route then I will send official attendants to accompany you."¹⁰ A copper-plate grant of Bhāskaravarman found in the Sylhet

¹⁰ Beal's *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1911), p. 188.

district gives the name of Karpasuvārṇa as the *skandācara* (camp) from where it was issued. Karpasuvārṇa is usually identified with the ruins of Rāṅgāmāṭi in the district of Murshidabad though the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti pushes it further east. According to Yuan-chwang Karpasuvārṇa was the capital of Śaśāṅka, who is called King of Gauḍa by Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita. Bhāskaravarman was an ally of Harṣa, whose brother had been assassinated by Śaśāṅka. So it may be assumed that Western Bengal in which lay the port of Tāmraliptī fell to the share of Harṣa's ally Bhāskaravarman after the downfall of the kingdom of Śaśāṅka, and Bhāskaravarman's proposal shows that there was regular navigation between Bengal and China. I-tsing landed at Tāmraliptī in 673 A.D., and when he left the sea-port, "taking the road which goes straight to the west", he writes, "many hundreds of merchants came with us to Central India".¹¹ I-tsing returned to China also viâ Tāmraliptī and has left a detailed account of the route.¹²

No work is yet known that contains any direct reference to the activities of the seamen of Eastern India in the later mediaeval period after I-tsing. But it must not therefore be supposed that the inhabitants of Eastern India gave up sea-borne trade and other activities that necessitated sea-voyages after the seventh century. The ruined temples of Angkor Thom assigned to the ninth century A.D. by Professor Foucher are Indo-Aryan or North Indian in style showing contact with Northern India, whereas Angkor Wat assigned to the eleventh century A.D. is of Dravidian style. This indicates that in the later mediaeval period the chief centre of maritime activities in the eastern seas shifted from North-eastern to Southern India. The epigraphic records of some of the dynasties of Southern India disclose that the rulers of the south whose dominions bordered on the sea had to maintain warships for the offensive

¹¹ Takakusu, *I-tsing*, p. xxvi.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. xxxiv.

as well as defensive purposes. In the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, Chālukya emperor of Bādāmi, it is said that Pulakeśi's predecessor Maṅgaleśa who reigned from about A.D. 580 to 605 conquered Revatīdvīpa. Pulakeśin himself sent a naval expedition consisting of "hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants" (*mada-jalaghaṭākarakairnāvām śataih*) to lay siege to Purī (or Dvārakā?) on the western sea. The Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I of Conjeeveram conquered Laṅkā or Ceylon and placed his protégé Mānavarman on the throne of the island kingdom. Narasiṃhavarman's grand-father Siṃhaviṣṇu is also said to have conquered Ceylon. The Cholas who succeeded the Pallavas in the northern Tamil country had also to maintain warships and carry on war with the kingdom of Ceylon. The Chola sea-power reached its zenith in the reign of the great Rājendra Chola I, who reigned from A.D. 1012 to 1042. Rājendra Chola's invasion of Ceylon (Ila-maṇḍalam) is referred to in the well-known Tirumalai rock inscription. In the Tanjore inscriptions of the 19th year of the same monarch's reign is given the following list of other expeditions beyond the seas :—

"And (who),—having despatched many ships in the midst of the rolling sea and having caught Saṃgrāma vijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Kaṭāram, along with (his) vehicles, (viz.) rutting elephants, (which were as impetuous as) the sea in fighting,—(took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; the (arch called) *Vidyādhara toraṇa* at the "war-gate" of the extensive city of the enemy; the "jewel-gate" adorned with great splendour; the "gate of large jewels"; the prosperous Śriviṣaya; Pannai, watered by the river; the ancient Malayur (with) a fort situated on a high hill; Māyirudingam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat; Ilangasogam (i.e. Laṅkāśoka), undaunted in fierce battles; the great Pappalam, having abundant high waters as defence; Mevilimbangam

having fine walls as defence; Valaippavduru, possessing (both) cultivated land and jungle; Taliat-Tokkolam, praised by great men (versed in) sciences; Mādamālingam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilamuridesam, whose fierce strength was subdued by vehement (attack); the great Nakkavāram, whose flower-gardens (resembled) the girdle of the nymph of the southern region; and Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea."¹³

Nakkavāram is the Tamil name of the Nicobar Islands and Pappalam is same as Papphala, a port in Ramanna, i.e., the Talaing country of Burma. Kaḍāram, according to the larger Leiden grant, was the capital of Śriviṣaya. The "ancient Malayur (with) a fort situated on a high hill" is probably the "island which", according to Marco Polo, "forms a kingdom, and is called Malaiur"¹⁴ the Malayu of I-Tsing. According to the commentary of Albuquerque, Palembang in Sumatra was called Malayo. Kaḍāram or Kaṭāha is probably the Ka-cha of I-Tsing, which according to Groenveltdt, suggests the name Kada, and must have been situated in the north-west of Sumatra. So the prosperous kingdom over which Saṃgrāma vijayottungavarman reigned was situated in the island now known as Sumatra and is probably identical with the kingdom San-bo-tasi, the people of which according to the History of Sung (960-1279),¹⁵ traded "in all kinds of things with gold and silver", "write with Sanskrit characters", and envoys from which "presented lotus flowers of gold containing pearls" to the emperor of China. Rajendra Chola's invasions of the island kingdoms were probably plundering raids. Yet the wide area they covered indicates that the mighty Chola sovereign had a powerful navy. From the later Chola and Ceylonese inscriptions it is evident that there was regular maritime intercourse between North-eastern India and Ceylon

¹³ *South Ind. Ins.*, ii, p. 109; and iii, p. 195; *Epi. Ind.* ix. p. 231.

¹⁴ Bk. III, chap. VII.

¹⁵ Quoted by Takakusu, *I-Tsing*, p. xliii.

throughout the eleventh century A.D. It may be assumed that during the same period other Indian colonies,—Sumatra, Java, Cambodia, and Champā—must have welcomed Indian immigrants as late as the eleventh century. But the curtain then falls. Marco Polo who visited Sumatra in A.D. 1285 or 1286 writes of *Perlec* or *Parlak*, one of the eight kingdoms into which the island was then divided, “This kingdom, you must know, is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the law of Mahomet.”¹⁶ The Saracen or Arab merchants had been frequenting the islands of the Archipelago for centuries before Marco Polo. But why was it that they found no opportunity of introducing Islam into any of these islands before the thirteenth century A.D.? Yule writes, “A Malay chronicle of Achin dates the accession of the first Mahomedan king of that state, the nearest point of Sumatra to India and Arabia, in the year answering to A.D. 1205, and this is the earliest conversion among the Malay on record”. And this was also the beginning of the end. Brahmanist civilisation among the Khmers of Cambodia and the Chams of Cochin-China was submerged by the flood of invasions from the north. Java held on till the beginning of the fifteenth century under the mighty kings of Majopahit. But the death-knell of Brahmanism or Indo-Aryanism in Further India as well as in the East Indian Archipelago was sounded on the day on which the inhabitants of Achin agreed to listen to the Saracenic merchants about things spiritual. This great change in the attitude of the islanders towards Islam was very probably due to the fact that in course of the twelfth century A.D. the Brahmanist colonies beyond the seas lost touch with the home of Brahmanism. The tributary streams of *Samudrayātrikas* and *Mahāsamudravanāṅks* that had so long fed the great stream of Indian culture which had been led to the lands and islands beyond the eastern seas centuries before suddenly dried

¹⁶ Bk III, chap. IX.

up and as a consequence the main stream became sluggish and then began to dry up. Now the question is, why was it that Vaniks (merchants), Brāhmaṇas, Śramanas, Śādhus and other adventurers gave up sea-voyage towards the close of the mediaeval period and forsook their brethren beyond seas to their fate? The Paurāṇik answer to this question I have already referred to in the beginning of this paper: that sages had forbidden sea-voyage and certain other usages in the Kali age. If by Kali age is meant the epoch beginning from the twelfth century A.D., this answer may be accepted as historically accurate and one of the texts in question is first quoted in the great Nibandha or compilation called *Chaturrargacintāmaṇi* by Heṃādri in the reign of Mahādeva of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri who reigned A.D. 1271-1281. But why did the sages forbid sea-voyage in the Kali age? For an answer to this we must interrogate history.

In one sense the expansion of Hinduism in the South-East beyond the seas was but a continuation of another movement that was going on synchronously in the North-West of India—the expansion of Hinduism among such foreign invaders as the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, the Tukhāras or Yuetis, the Hunas and the Gurjaras who invaded India in succession between second century B.C. and sixth century A.D. We learn from the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription that the *yona-duta* or the Greek ambassador, Heliodorus, was a Vaishnava and from the cave inscriptions of Karle and Nasik we learn that Uśavadatta, a Śaka, and son-in-law of Nahapāna was a liberal patron of Brahmanas. The story of the conquest of the successive bands of conquerors from the north-west by the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramanas up till the advent of Islam is now well known. But how was it possible? A Hindu, that is to say, a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra is born and not made. The admission of a foreigner into the Hindu fold as a member of one of the four castes was possible through a legal fiction. In the code of Manu and other texts the

Śakas, Yavanas and others are classed as Kṣatriyas who had degenerated into Śūdras on account of loss of connection with Brāhmaṇas. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*¹⁷ recognises the Śakas and the Yavanas as *niravasita* Śūdras who do not permanently pollute utensils. So a foreigner who was either a Śaka or a Yavana, or was supposed to be one, could easily get himself admitted to the Hindu fold either as a clean Śūdra, or, if he was a chief, as a Kṣatriya by performing *vrātya-prāyaścitta* or expiatory ceremony provided for a degenerate of twice-born origin. Like the Hindus of Gandhāra, Punjab and Western India, the Hindu adventurers who went over to the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and the Archipelago regarded the Malays as only Śūdras who owed their degraded condition to loss of touch with the Brāhmaṇas and readily recognised them as caste Hindus on their agreeing to submit to the necessary discipline. But why did the Hindus of the North-west shut the door of Hindu society against foreigners and the Hindus of the East abandon their brethren beyond the seas? As regards the north-west the answer to this question is furnished by a Musalman Sanskrit scholar, Abu Raihan Alberuni, who came to India in the wake of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Alberuni learnt Sanskrit from the Pandits and had excellent opportunities of ascertaining the views of the orthodox Hindus of his time. He recognises that the Hindus of old were not so exclusive and attributes the revolutionary change in the Hindu attitude towards the foreigners to the iconoclastic zeal of such Musalman invaders as Muhammad Ibn Kasim, the Arab who conquered Sindh and Multan in the beginning of the eighth century A.D., and of his own ruthless patron Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni.¹⁸ Alberuni's suggestion appears to be true in substance. Before they came into contact with the Musalmans, the Hindus had known only such foreigners, whether conquerors or conquered, as were disposed to be quite submissive to them in religious and social

¹⁷ On Pāṇ., II, 4, 10.

¹⁸ Sachan's *Alberuni's India*, Vol I, pp 21-22.

matters. But in the Musalmans the Hindus found a body of aliens who instead of bowing to the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramanas, invited the latter to give up their religions and accept the Koran and who went the length of defying the gods by destroying temples and idols. With what they saw the Hindus must also have heard that Islam had swept away the ancient creeds and cultures of Western Asia and Africa and so they must have been led to the conclusion that the same fate would overtake their culture unless they took exceptional measures to safeguard it. In the eastern seas the Hindu sea adventurers also found themselves confronted by the followers of Islam in the sphere of trade and missionary work; and the attitude assumed by the Hindus of Upper India towards foreigners in general as a consequence of the inroads of Islam must have gradually influenced those classes of eastern and southern India from which these sea adventurers were usually recruited and led to the unpopularity of the sea-voyage and its ultimate abolition by a *vyavasthā* of the learned.

The last question in connection with this phase of ancient Indian history is, was this *vyavasthā* right? I doubt very much whether we with our twentieth century notions are capable of properly judging our ancestors of the twelfth century A.D. Men who lived so near the time of those great teachers who inspired the Khmers and the Malays to build Angkor Thom, Borobudur, and Angkor Wat must have known better. But we who know our past too well to see that we should not allow it to retard our course in the future should, in the first place, as students of the past, assiduously endeavour to learn the lessons that the stupendous Hindu and Buddhist monuments of Indo-China and the East Indian Archipelago have to teach us; in the second place, as Hindus, to revivify whatever of the ancient Hindu culture survives in those distant lands; and, in the third place, as Indians to rejuvenate our maritime activities.

DRAVIDIAN ELEMENTS IN INDIAN POLITY.

DR. RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,
Professor of Indian Economics, University of Lucknow.

The social composition and constitution of vast masses of Indian rural population still remain on tribal levels but Indian tribes show a more differentiated and elaborate organisation than the African, Australian and other tribes more familiar to the western anthropologist; the latter are retarded growths.

Indian tribes are seldom unorganised hordes; they exhibit an elaborate organisation of social government, the information of village-groups comprehended within circles of tribal jurisdiction and the absence of collective ownership. In the field of Indian sociology nothing is more significant than the gradual assimilation of the customs and forms of belief of the aboriginal tribes into the social system of the Aryan peoples; communities have been and are still being incorporated wholly or in part into the Brahminical social system. The Indian social structure and the racial constitution of the population as well are permeated in fact by the aboriginal element from top to bottom; with the development of more settled habits of a predominantly agricultural population the tribal organisation gradually develops into and is ultimately superseded by the village community, the foundation of the Indian polity. Thus the constitution and internal management of the primitive folks and communities in India which have so far more or less escaped absorption demand some consideration in so far as they represent the primary and incipient structures which have been assimilated into or moulded the social type and constitution of the Indian rural population.

Turning to the tribes¹ which are still in a comparatively primitive condition, we find among the Bhils who have

¹ Cf. in particular the last *Report on the Census of India*, Vol. I

locally settled down to agricultural life in the Vindhyan country, the division of the tribal area into groups of separate settlements called Para (the Para used as their local divisions by the Munda tribes is a universal word which survives in the subdivisions of the village in different parts of India). Each has a chief called Tarvai. There seems to be a larger clan-grouping for social government and festivals. In the east side of India, in the Chota Nagpur plateau, the Munda tribes have shown more settled agricultural habits and a more developed system of clan-government. The Ho, the Munda, the Bhumij and the Santal tribes are divided into minor clans each having its totemic name. Each group of separate homesteads has its own headman known as Munda among the Ho and the Munda tribes; Manjhi among the Santals; and Sirdar among the Bhumij. As among the Bhils they have also larger unions of villages or clan-territorial divisions, each under a tribal chief. Sometimes these democratic communities form a confederacy and meet in large assemblies to confer on very important questions; but more often they are in subordination to some local chieftain or Raja.

The Santals exhibit a superior organisation. The whole number of villages comprising a local settlement of the tribe is divided into certain large groups, each under the superintendence of a Parganait or circle-headman. This official is the head of the social system of the inhabitants of his circle; his permission has to be obtained for every marriage, and he, in consultation with a Panchayat of village headmen, expels or fines persons who infringe the tribal standard of propriety. He is remunerated by a commission on the fines levied, and by a tribute in kind of one leg of the goat or animal cooked at the dinner which the culprits are obliged to give.²

Besides the village headman who settles disputes there is a deputy called Pramanik; both these officers are aided by an

² Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II.

executive Jogmanjhi who sees to the actual execution of order and routine business while the headman or the Manjhi sits and issues the orders and only interferences on great occasions. The Jogmanjhi seems also to act as a sort of censor on the morals of youth and his control lasts till their marriage. There are also the village priest, the Naik and the village messenger, Gorait. In many villages among these tribes as also among the Hos and the Mundas, there is to be found the usual complement of village officers and artisans and the more so as the communities are agriculturally prosperous.

In some tracts the Parganaits have an official position; they are appointed by Government and through them the Manjhis or village headmen pay their rents and deal with Government. The Parganaits are remunerated by commission of two per cent. on the collection of the Manjhis subordinate to them. Under them are Des-Manjhis who are their assistants and Chakladars who act as messengers. In some areas Sirdars have been appointed in place of Parganaits; they discharge some of the duties of police officers having a number of village chaukidars under them and perform much of the judicial work formerly transacted by the Parganaits. Government officials frequently send them cases regarding social matters, land disputes, etc., for investigation and report. There are then three judges; one for the complainant, one for the accused and one for the Government. This court is called Salis and its decisions are properly regarded and subject to no appeal. Of the ordinary village Panchayat all the indigeneous officials, the Manjhi, Pramanik, Jogmanjhi, Gorait, Naik and Kuram-Naik are members; all petty disputes both of a civil and criminal nature, disputes about marriage and inheritance are settled by the village-assembly which meets now and then at the Manjhi-than. Disputes between men of different villages as well as matters which are too important to be decided by the village-assembly are referred to a Panchayat consisting of five neighbouring Manjhis under the control of the Parganaite.

Above the village headmen and Parganaits are the people themselves; it is very characteristic that at the end of the Santal year when arrangements for the new year are made all the village officials resign their posts to the villagers and the cultivators also give notice of giving up their lands saying that they will only keep their old house-sites and huts for their wives and their own bodies connoting personal freedom. The community in fact returns to the primal communism; after a few days, however, everything is pro forma given and taken back again; the village officials resume their duties as representatives of the people while cultivators resume their individual ownership under the trusteeship of the community represented by the headman. In the Santal village community, again, if a man leaves his village he cannot sell his house, for the timber of it belongs to the village; he cannot sell his land to outsiders, for it has to be taken up by a fellow-villager. The system of self-government works very well; internal disputes are still very largely settled within the village bounds and if the villagers are dissatisfied with the headman and other village officials, they can get them dismissed.

In none of these tribes we find communal ownership of lands by village bodies. Occupation and clearing give rise to individual or family ownership under the direction of the tribal chiefs. Among some tribes there is the custom, however, of an equable distribution of land, so that good and bad lands equally fall to each one's lot. In every case, however, the tribe is jealous of encroachments on the uncultivated wastes which are within the territory of its Para.

Dravidian customs regarding village life and land-holding are very difficult to disentangle from the village communities met with in different parts of India where they have shown continuous alteration and fusion as well as absorption and comprehension. But in certain localities where the Dravidian tribes have been inaccessible to civilising influences and represent the less advanced members of the race, tribal

organization as well as village settlement exhibit distinctly Dravidian characteristics. Among the Kands of Orissa, for instance, we find an elaborate scheme of tribal territories and subdivisions though a system of military aids, investiture of the tribal chiefs and patriarch by the Raja and other feudal incidents gradually supervened as the superior civilisation of the neighbouring Hindu princes exerted its influence. The tribe or rather the clan is first subdivided into Muttha, each descended from a common ancestor. There is the headman or the Muttha chief who sits with the village elders under the sacred tree which was either left standing when the forest-clearing was made or was planted on the establishment of a new village.

The adoption of the name of the dominant tribe by bodies of artisans and menials is characteristic of both the Kand and the Gond, so that, as in the case of the Nayar but on a smaller scale, there are Gond blacksmiths, drummers and cowherds, and Kand blacksmiths and potters.

There are recognised servile castes or hereditary menials, blacksmiths, herdsmen, potters and distillers, whose huts cluster at one extremity of the village. This, as well as the right of the village to the unoccupied waste within its jurisdiction, is a universal characteristic of Indian village communities but the villages here are held together not by any holding of land in common but by some connection of totem, or by tribal bonds under the control of a strong democratic organisation or of some local hereditary chief.

In the feudatory states of Orissa the foundation of administration rests very strongly on the village headman. He has acquired through prosperity a very strong position and is sometimes fully capable of maintaining his rights against the chief or feudal tenure-holder under whom he holds; claims to the forests in the villages are often asserted and recognised. Besides the priest of the aboriginal deity who ranks next to the village headman, the only other recognised official is

the Gorait or Chaukidar (village watchman). Headmen or Gaontias are ex officio policemen; and the Gorait, besides being the village messenger, is also the assistant of the Gaontia in all matters connected with police or the detection of crime. Though the necessity of military service has passed away, the whole system of the feudal tenure by which it used to be maintained still exists. Round the sites of the ancient forts which are mostly situated at strategic points on the border, are clustered colonies of men at arms called Paiks. From 10 to 30 Paiks are located in a village. The head of the Paiks in each village is called the Gorhatia or Garh-naik who has an officer under him called the Dal-behara or captain. He is also generally the Gaontia of the village. Over each group of 100 Paiks is the Sardar; there is also the Senapati, who is the recognised head of all the men at arms. The Sardar and Garh-naiks are bound to produce their Paiks whenever called upon by the Raja; they get monthly pay as well as rent-free lands. The Paiks and all tenants of Paiki villages are exempted from all payments in kind. There are the usual grants of service lands to village watchmen (Chaukidars), village servants, and the ordinary rent-free and religious grants. The type is similarly feudal in the Gond country and overlordship, fiefs and military service are similarly characteristic.

Under the Gonds the whole of the Khalsa area had been sub-divided into Killas consisting of a varying number of villages, each Killa being under a Killadar or Diwan assisted by an establishment, the chief officers of which were the Desmukh, Despande and Sar-mukkadham who held an intermediate position between the Killadar and the village officials. The Marathas whose revenue system was directly inherited from the Gond system removed these intermediate officials, retaining only the general manager, who was now called Kamaishdar and whose charge was styled a Pangana, the keeper of the government accounts, now called Phadnairs,

and the Warar-pandia or recorder of the village accounts. Of the village officers the Patel is the most important; he is assisted by the Dandia or village accountant and the Kotwal or village watchman.

Among the Maria Gonds among whom Dravidian institutions remain in their pristine form, each village has a headman or Patel, called the Gaita. In addition to his office as a Gaita he generally exercises also the hereditary functions of a Bhumia or religious headman of the village. This dual office used formerly to be held, as a rule, by one and the same man in the village and, with a few exceptions here and there owing to poverty or loss of influence on the part of the Bhumia, it is still so held in the majority of cases. The man enjoying the double office is, therefore, the patriarch of the whole village community, and his authority in the village (or a group of two or three villages) under him is supreme. This post is hereditary. The caste has not a standing Panchayat or governing body. It is called together when required. But the system prevailing in the caste is far more developed and is in certain respects more far-reaching in its effects than the ordinary Panchayat system prevailing in other castes.

The jurisdiction of the village Panchayat is confined to the village itself and a local village Panchayat is never referred to for the decision of a case by persons at a distance. A group of about 50 to 100 villages is constituted into what is locally called a Patti, and this Patti acknowledges the authority of the chief religious and social headman of the group who is called the Sendhia. The Sendhia is the chief priest and judge of the Patti. Every marriage contracted, every case of social misdemeanour involving the penalty of a fine and every other social and religious function performed in any village of the Patti yields the Sendhia a fixed fee in cash, ranging from Rs. 2 to Rs. 10, and in some exceptional cases up to Rs. 50. The office of the Sendhia is also hereditary and the Sendhia is the dominant authority in the Patti. The

authority of the Sendhia (for purposes of a Panchayat) is invoked only in exceptional cases involving the interests of a number of villages, and in such cases the decision of the Sendhia on an appeal being made to him by or against a village Panchayat (or a number of village Panchayats) is final. For purposes of a Panchayat therefore each Patti forms a distinct unit, the internal composition of which is as follows:—

(i) Each village holds its own Panchayat composed of a few village elders and presided over by the village headman (Gaita).

(ii) Each group of villages acknowledges the authority of the Sendhia who is the court of appeal for difficult or intricate intra-communal disputes.

(iii) Each Sendhia's Patti is, as a rule, a compact block of country, sharply defined by prominent natural geographical boundaries (a range of hills, a large river or a nala), and the Sendhia's authority is confined to his own Patti.

The affairs of one Sendhia's Patti are never referred to a Sendhia of another Patti. Each Patti is known by its local geographical name (such as the Lahiri-patti, the Vennasugar-patti, the Jarawandi-patti, the Ghat-patti, and so forth), and each Patti is the sole undisputed domain of the local Sendhia.³

A more advanced stage in village formation and settlement than that which the Kand and the Gond village represents is furnished by the Munda Dravidian village (as we find it among the Mundas and Oraons for instance) in the Chota Nagpur districts.⁴ We find here a very elaborate system of agrarian distribution and settlement, tribal government and centralised control. Bhuinhari lands are allotted to the chief of the district, the headman or chief of the village (the common title Munda for the headman suggests that the Dravidian and the Munda elements have mingled), the village priest and the

³ *Census of India*, Vol. X, pp 239-240

⁴ *District Gazetteers*, Ranchi and Santal Pargannas

regular staff of artisans and menials, resident and entitled to their grain remuneration. There are also the Mahats or village accountants, the Bhandari or bailiff, the Gorait or watchman, and the Goala who looks after the village cattle. There are definite village boundaries and equitable arrangements for the distribution of land. The development of intensive cultivation and the increasing pressure of population have sometimes led to the stage of the re-distribution of certain classes of holdings held by non-privileged families and settlers. Exception is, however, made for lands for which permanent improvements or irrigation facilities have been made. Tenant rights develop and are respected. The clearer of the jungle was the owner or spiritual head of the village or co-owner with his original associates, if he had any. Their descendants own the jungle of which the village was made; all else are Prajas or ryots. An elaborate code of agricultural and grazing customs, forest and irrigation rules also develop. The strongest attachment to land is manifested as well as the feeling of individual proprietary right transmitted from generations.

Originally the whole central table-land of Chota Nagpur was divided into Paras or rural communes, comprising from 10 to 25 villages, and presided over by a divisional chief, called the Raja or Manki of the Para. But this element in the tribal village system has now fallen into decay. The Para divisions, however, still exist in their entirety in many tracts; there are groups of from 10 to 24 villages, each of which has its own Munda or village-head; while the whole commune is subject to a divisional headman called Manki who collects the fixed rents payable by the villagers as well as other dues such as road-cess and Rakumats. Formerly the Manki used to settle land and other disputes occurring in the group of villages under his jurisdiction, and also exercised general supervision. Indeed, the Manki is an essential factor in the original political organisation of the Munda

racess and as such has existed everywhere among them. Both among the Mundas and the Oraons, the original social and political organisation of the Para and the Patti still survive. Among the Mundas, for instance, in the Bhuinhari area of Ranchi, each Para consists of 8 to 12 villages; all the Bhuinhars or the descendants of the original settlers in these villages being members of the Kili or sept. In each Para there is a standing committee or Panchayat with permanent officers whose titles such as Raja, Diwan, Thakur, Lalpande and Karta have been borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. The head of the Para was the Manki, the name and office of whom survive in few tracts, since the Hindu landlords destroyed his independence. In some dependent tenures in Singhbhum, as well as among the Hos and the Santals he has still retained his office. In the Khunkatti area of Ranchi the title of Manki survives and the Pattis of which the area is composed consist of 10 to 12 villages. There is no standing committee and there are no permanent officials, and the Panchayat is composed, when occasion requires, of the two headmen of the villages included in the Pattis, under the presidency of the Post-munda or occasionally of the Manki. In cases of minor disputes a private Panchayat consisting of members of the same sept is convened. A president or Sar-panch is elected and he, with the aid of the two assessors selected by each party decides the question at issue. May not the title of the President as well as the procedure have spread far beyond the confines of Chota Nagpur and percolated through all the lower strata of the Hindu community? Similarly among the Oraons the Para-panchayat is still to be found exercising its jurisdiction over a group of villages; all matters affecting the whole village and not merely individual disputes between villages, matters of religion, dates of festivals, disputes about flags as well as customary rules of sport and hunt are decided by the meeting of the Para-panchayat which is held once a year. The Para-panchayat is

presided over either by a Kartaha or a Mukhya. This assembly is a court of appeal against the decisions of the village Panchayats; it also deals with offences against caste and tribal custom. The office of the Kartaha is hereditary; that of the Mukhya is only held so long as the holder is fit to perform his duties. Most of the other Dravidian tribes and septs have also similar Panchayat organisation. The Rautias, probably Dravidian in their original affinities, have a representative assembly for groups of from five to fifteen villages called Mandal, which is presided over by a hereditary official known as the Mahant. May not the standing assembly of the Panchayat and the Mandali or circle of five, seven, ten or a hundred villages in Bengal have their original affinities in these vital Dravidian or Munda institutions?

Nowhere has the original political organisation of the Munda races, the indigenous village system based upon a federal union of villages under a subdivisioinal headman seen at its best than among the Hos of Singhbhum⁵ who under a suitable system of protective administration have still retained intact much of the original social organisation found in the other Kolarian tribes. The indigenous organisation has been adhered to at the settlements and it is significant that the British administration has utilised tribal government and tenures. The whole state is divided into groups of 5 to 20 villages, each under a Manki or divisional headman; the Mundas are all subject to the authority of the Mankis, who are assisted by Tahsildars or village accountants, and by Daknas or constables appointed by the Mankis. Every Munda is responsible for the payment of the revenue, and for the detection and arrest of criminals in his village to the Manki, who is in his turn responsible to Government. For acting as revenue collectors, the Mankis receive a commission of 10 per cent. and the Mundas 10 per cent. of the revenue which passes through their hands. Besides these

⁵ *District Gazetteer, Singhbhum.*

duties, the Manki and Munda, each in his degree, has certain informal powers to decide village disputes and questions of tribal usage.

It is an easy transition from the advanced type of the Dravidian village in south-western Bengal and Chota Nagpur area to the village communities of Madras Presidency. The resemblance is more manifest particularly in the west coast districts of the south, in Malabar and Coorg, where democratic tribal traditions are still vital and potent in the formation of economic and social structures though feudal and monarchical tendencies have sometimes supervened.

All over the south of India, we have living traces of clan divisions. The basis of the territorial organisation, coming down from very early times in the south was the Nad or Nadu. Such clan divisions form indeed the natural landmarks for defining the jurisdiction of kingdoms and of chiefships such as those of the ancient Cheras, Cholas, Pandayans or the Poligars. Remnants of this tribal, territorial organisation are, however, most evident in Malabar and Coorg. In Malabar, the Nadu divisions are still governed on a clan basis and the Nadukuttams or meetings represent the democratic tribal gatherings like those of the Kands or of the Oraons; the Takka among the Coorgs corresponds to the Muttha among the Kand tribes and is comprehended within the Nad or clan region. The Simatoka corresponds to the chief of a whole district or region to be found among all Kolarian or Dravidian tribes throughout India.

We thus see the elements of the Munda and Dravidian communal village surviving in the social organisation and economic structure of the Indian village community. In Chota Nagpur and the adjoining districts of Chattisgarh we find every stage of village organisation developed by the Munda races and Dravidians. The latter were as great colonisers as the Rajputs; and the centre of their organisation in Chota Nagpur is as important as Oudh and Rajputana which

give us the best data for reconstructing the Rajput or Aryan organisation. First, we find in the Munda constitution the divisions of the tribal territory into a number of villages, each under its own headman (the Munda) and also the union of ten or twelve adjoining villages (the Para), having its own tribal priest. Secondly, in the Gond villages of Chattisgarh, we find the headman assisted by four or more officials, composing the village Panchayat; thirdly, the transition to the elaborately organised villages of the Oraons (Dravidians) is marked by the supercession of the Panchayat by the ruling council composed of the Munda or the village headman, the Pahan or village priest and Matho or the village accountant who became the Patwari of the Bengal and the North-west, the Kulkarni of Bombay and the Karnam of the South. Except the Pahan, these officers do not like the Munda and Gond headman hold a separate tract of land as an appanage of their office but they have allotments in the three cultivated tracts of land set apart for the clans of Bhuinhars or original settlers whence the Munda, Pahan or Matho are chosen. Lands have been held in communal tenures; redistribution has been the practice and in these not only the land held by the subordinate cultivators but also those of the headman come into the common stock. The Dravidians who interposed the central government of the Rajas over the simpler tribal type of village organisation took the rule over the Mankis who dropped into secondary position, converted the lots reserved for the old tribal Manjhis and Bhuinhars into royal demesne and continued the petty allotments made for the village and district gods (*Gramaderata*, Desauli, Bhutkheta) adding to them the reserved trees or the sacred village grove or the reserved allotment for the Mother-goddess worshipped throughout Southern India in images made of wood as Marriama. Allotments for the support of artisans and village menials including the watchman were also made or continued, and a steward or headman in the royal interest called Mahto

was added on to the old village staff, and he was provided with an ex officio landholding like the earlier village officials. It is characteristic that throughout the south (the Dravida Deccan) the holding of land in virtue of hereditary village office or service (Manyam) is everywhere known. The Wattan or land held ex officio by village headmen continued by Mahomedan administration in Central or Western India is a distinct Dravidian institution. The sacred groves and the royal lands worked by menials in many part of India, as we find in Coorg, for instance, are distinctly Dravidian survivals. Feudatory estates, Jagirs, Talukdaries, and Zamindaries in the Central Provinces and Berar are the distinct vestiges of the strong central government of the Gonds, who placed the great Raja in the most important domain, and grouped the other territories into greater or lesser chiefs' estates, around the former. The outlying districts of a conquered territory were, in the Dravidian scheme, usually occupied by chiefs (Ghatwala of Chota Nagpur and Southern and Western Bengal, and Poligars of Southern India) who were wardens of extensive marches, and their successors at this day occupy the position of considerable Zamindars. In fact large estates belonging to single owners in different parts of India owe their origin in many cases to the strong Dravidian rule by chiefs and their Sardars. The Dravidians, indeed, founded and consolidated the present land revenue system of India. The Muhammadans, the Marathas and the British have successively grafted on the Dravidian village organisation their own officials, Patels, or Desmukhs or Pandyas, for the systematic collection of the revenue, or utilised the old officials, the Kolarian headman and the Dravidian accountant; they recognised the hereditary rights of certain leading families, "proprietors" who built the forts round which the huts of the villagers cluster and continued the Jagirs and smaller grants, and in many cases retained even the allotments for the village menials and the village gods.

The village or family groups aggregated into unions called Nadus with some kind of chief, acting in assemblies, represent clearly in South India the same continuity of the Dravidian system of the central government of chiefs or Rajas assimilated into the more republican Kolarian system, characterised as it is by divisions of the territory on a tribal basis under the hereditary headmen of the villages (Mundas) and the Mankis in council. In village and city planning the division of the Indian village or city into Paras and Pattis each with its central site, the residence of the headman, is a replica of the Dravidian division of the country into Paras or Patti each with its central village, the residence of the Manki. The latter is still to be found where Dravidian institutions survive, or where Dravidian influence made itself felt, as in the eastern regions of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor and South Western Asia, along the old Indian trade-routes. The Panchayats and the Chaukidars or village (or ward) policemen, as well as the allotments of lands for village officials and menials are, however, the most vital of the Dravidian survivals, still found wherever the social composition shows a large Dravidian admixture. The Panchayats and the communal villages have not been obscured whether by the *Mitākṣara* and *Dāyabhāga* codes of property, or by the Muhammadan superimposition of overlords, fiefs and feudal tenures or by the British superimposition of the rights of individual property. In Bengal the unions of villages in a circle, Mandala, and Panchagrama, or five villages, the officers now called the Mandalika and the Panchagramika, the divisions of villages and urban congregations into Paras and Pattis, and the larger divisions now called Pargannas have their affinities to Munda institutions. In the gradual process of absorption of the Dravidians to the Hindu social organisation, we find survivals of the Dravidian polity in the Panchayats of almost all the non-Brahmana castes. In matters of social administration each caste is an autonomous unit having its

headman and peon and often its village headman. Appeals against the decision of the village-headman whose jurisdiction extends over each endogamous subdivision of the caste or tribe in each village are referred to a higher tribunal consisting usually of a council of these headmen, presided over by the tribal or caste chief, or head. This tribunal exercises its authority over a number of villages, the number varying with the strength and distribution of the communities concerned. In the south the territorial jurisdiction of such a tribunal is variously known as a Nadu or Patti, both of which denote old tribal divisions of the Dravidians. In most castes the decisions of the second court are subject to a third as even to a fourth tribunal, the constitution of which varies with almost every caste. In some castes several Nadus are grouped together under the jurisdiction of an officer called, Pattakaram, Feriya-nattan, Peria, Dorai, Padda, Ejaman, Raja, Gadi-nattan, etc. Sometimes the decisions of a Pattakara, are referred to a board of Pattakaras; and sometimes, when Brahminical influence is stronger, to a Guru. Such are the vestigial remains of the old Dravidian tribal organisation, seen in its purer form even to-day in Chota Nagpur and Coorg, with its divisions of tribal territory into a number of villages, each under its headman, its groups and unions of villages called Paras or Pattis or Nadus and the hierarchy of tribunals composed of the board of headmen presided over by a chief or a Raja who still exercises a certain vague supremacy over a group of tribal divisions. Caste administration is of a strictly hierarchical character like tribal administration and monarchical or republican forms survive as vestiges of the older tribal types. In each caste tribunal, again, we find the two assessors selected by each party advocating each side of the case before the Panchayat as we find in the tribal councils among the Mundas and Oraons for instance in Chota Nagpur. Among almost all South Indian castes matrimonial disputes are, sent after a

preliminary enquiry by the village-headman to the head of the Nadu who decides them with the help of a few village headmen. This is clearly a vestige of the tribal custom of the sanction of marriages by the chief. In the Munda-Dravidian village organisation Khunt lots are allotted into flocks, one for the headman, and one for the tribal priest; vestigial remains of this are still to be found among many Dravidian tribes and castes in the south who still set apart the fines levied by the Panchayat under three heads, for the Sarkar, for the members of the Panchayat and for the priest. In Sandur State, Bellary, the first third is still paid into the state coffers, whence it is handed over to deserving charities. But with regard to the common ownership of the pasture lands, water courses and the village temples in the Indo-Aryan village community, it would be difficult to say whether Dravidian institutions found ready to hand were copied or whether they were natural outgrowths of early Aryan tribal conditions or whether they were inevitable under the conditions of Indian economic geography and physiography. We find in Manu that grazing grounds are the common property of the village, the people encroaching upon them are liable to penalties; and Yajñavalkya also lays down substantially the same rules. This was so even as early as the Vedic age when it was called Khila or Khilya, as surrounding the plough land. The village land appears also to include adjoining forest tracts over which the entire village has a common right. Besides these there were the water course, the village temple and the village gods, which were the communal properties of the entire village. And even with regard to the arable land occupied or cultivated by the villagers which was considered to be the separate property of the joint families, we find a trace of the communal right of the village in the rule that such lands could not be alienated without the consent of the entire village.* In these cases the question of origins is difficult to

* *Mitākṣarā*, Chap. I, Sec. 1.

solve, but a nearly certain test of Dravidian affinities may be found in the regional prevalence of the worship of local spirits, and the sacredness ascribed to the earth, fields and trees. This anthropological test should be applied for the definition of Dravidian or Aryan political forms and institutions.

The village sweeper or scavenger, Kulawadi, Tothi or Kotwar, as he is differently called is the guardian of the village boundaries, and his opinion was often taken as authoritative in all cases of disputes about land. This position he perhaps occupied as a representative of the pre-Aryan tribes, the oldest residents of the country, and his appointment may have also been partly based on the idea that it was proper to employ one of them as the guardian of the village lands, just as the priest of the village gods of the earth and fields was usually taken from these tribes. The reason for their appointment seems to be that the Hindus still look on themselves to some extent as strangers and interlopers in relation to the gods of the earth and the village and consider it necessary to approach these through the medium of one of their predecessors. The words Bhumka and Bhuniya for the village priest both mean the lord of the soil or belonging to the soil.⁷

But it is not merely among the Munda-Dravidian tribes and castes that the tribal divisions and political forms still persist and are fused into the system of government and land administration. Among the Aryans, Jats, Gujars, Rors, Syeds, Pathans, etc., we find tribal village groups with a joint constitution throughout northern India; the strong tribal union has been utilised by the Imperial revenue system for treating the villages (or whatever forms anything like a community), as jointly responsible for the revenue.

In the Panjab and North-West Provinces,⁸ the Itaqu or Thapa, is still occupied by a number of villages all of the

⁷ Russel, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*

⁸ See in particular, Ibbetson *Panjab Castes*, and Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North Western Provinces*.

same clan; there are then subdivisions, within which we find a number of still large groups called Khel. In cases the Khel itself is subdivided into a series, viz. into Kandi, and finally into Thal. Within these subdivisions come the families. Thus the village community does not wholly supersede the tribal organisation even in the Jamna Districts where the coparcenary community exists in vigorous perfection. Under the Mughals the revenue administration used to be based upon the Thapas, the revenue being assessed upon the group of villages as a whole, and being distributed among them by the headmen of the collective villages under the presidency of the headman of the parent village. So too till British time the primary subdivision of the tribes is into Thapas or Thambas. A tribal community having obtained possession of a tract, in course of time it would be inconvenient for them all to live together, and a part of the community would found a new village, always on the edge of a drainage line from which their tanks could be filled. This process would be repeated, till the tract become dotted over with villages all springing originally from one parent village. The group of villages so bound together by common descent form a Thapa, and are connected by ties of kinship which are still recognised, the village occupied by the descendants of the common ancestor in the eldest line being, however small or reduced in circumstances, still acknowledged as the head. To this day, when a headman dies, the other villages of the Thapa assemble to instal his heir, and the turban of the parent village is first tied on his head. When Brahmanas and the brotherhood (Meljor), are fed on the occasion of death, etc., it is from the Thapa villages that they are collected; and the Brahmanas of the head village are fed first, and receive double fees. So among the menial castes, who still retain an internal organisation of far greater vitality than the higher castes now possess, the representative of the head village is always the foreman of the caste jury which is assembled from the Thapa villages to hear

and decide disputes. In old days the subordinate village used to pay some small Chaudrayat to the head village on the day of the great Diwali. The head village is called "great village", the "turban village", "the village of origin", or "the Tika-village", the Tika being the sign of authority formally impressed in old days on the forehead of the heir of a deceased leader in the presence of the assembled Thapa. Mr. Ibbetson says: "In one case a village told me that it had changed its Thapa, because there were so many Brahmans in its original Thapa that it found it expensive to feed them. I spoke to the original Tika village about it, and they said that no village *could* change its Thapa. *Put kuput ho saktā; magar mā kumā nahin ho sakti* 'a son may forget his sonship; but not a mother her motherhood.'"

The fiction of common descent is, even in these cases, preserved, as has been so well insisted upon by Maine. The man who thus takes a share of another's land is called Bhunbhai, or "earth-brother"; and if a landowner of a clan other than that of the original owners is asked how he acquired property in the village, his invariable answer is *bhai karke basaya*, "they settled me as a brother".

The Thapas above described are those based upon tribal organisation, and are still recognized fully by the Rajputs, especially in Kaithal, and more or less by the people generally. But the British revenue system, in adopting the tribal Thapa as one of its units, somewhat modified its constitution. The revenue was primarily assessed and collected by the local Amil, an Imperial authority. But he worked principally through the Chaudharis or local heads of the people, who represented large subdivisions of the country, based, as far as possible, upon tribal distribution. Thus Chaudharis existed in old days at Jundla, Panipat, Bala and other places, and received an allowance called Nankar in consideration of the duties they performed. They again worked almost entirely by Thapas, the assessment being fixed for a whole Thapa, and being distributed

over the constituent villages by the headman of the villages, presided over by those of the Tika or chief village. These revenue Thapas coincided generally with the tribal Thapas; but they occasionally varied from them from considerations of convenience. Old Parganah Panipat contained $16\frac{1}{2}$ Thapas, half Jaurasi having been separated by Farrukhsir.*

Throughout the north, villages thus belong to different Goras (gentes) though it is by no means the case that their composition is absolutely homogeneous. Inside each village there are also often to be found two or three clans of distinct origins; the Jat villages are, however, more homogeneous. Sometimes the villages are held on ancestral shares by the descendants of a founder or a body of founders. Again there is often no pretension to descent from a common ancestor, or the maintenance of ancestral shares; this gives rise to the Bhai-achara villages. The land is divided out in Hal or plough lands, a number being assigned to each family in proportion to its strength. The size of the Hal varies with the character of the soil being as usual the area estimated to be ploughed by one pair of oxen. Nor are the holdings in one block but (as usual in the genuine Bhai-achara or clan-fraternity method) the original distribution is generally most elaborate, the whole area having been divided into blocks according to quality and each sharer getting his portion in each block, i.e., the number of Hal for each family consisted of a specified kind of each type of soil, good, bad and middling. These shares are observed in the division of any culturable waste and in apportioning the Malba or joint expenses of the village community. They are not now made use of in paying the land revenue which is met by an appropriate acreage rate on the area actually possessed by each.

In the North Western Frontier districts, there is also the similar tribal grouping of families and the recognition of different degrees of kindred which originate village location or

* *Karnal District Gazetteer*, pp. 84, 85, 86

allotment. The main tribes have each a separate tract of country, the Thapa; the Thapas are divided into Khets each having a central resident group and several hamlets. In many of the frontier settlements, series of invasions and migrations have, however, resulted in a demotic composition and thus the procedure of village settlement is confined to major groups and sub-groups. This has, however, not prevented the custom of a periodical redistribution of holdings. Among the Bannuchi the ancestral division of the clan guides the distribution of land shares up to a certain point only, that is, the termination of the original close kindred. Within the limits of each man's share there has been a sub-sectional apportionment of land and water in proportion to the amount of canal excavation work done. In this case water rather than land became the first thing definitely appropriated by sub-sections and individuals within the several sectional limits. By degrees the then existing canals were improved and extended and branch channels and new canals were dug. Shares were determined by amount of labour contributed and that seems to have corresponded with the measure of ancestral right. As new immigrants came they were admitted subject to the payment of a water-rate; thus there were dominant groups who were both lords of the water and lords of the land as well as dependant groups who possessed no shares and received water from some share-holders for certain services such as performing canal labour, fighting, etc. Even now the amount of contribution of each village or individual is determined according to canal-shares distributed over the Thapas. In Banu also remnants of the system of periodical exchange or redistribution (Vesh) are to be found. Formerly entire Thapa divisions were exchanged but gradually this proved uneconomical. In Marwar all or most of the territorial blocks (Wands) into which each village is parcelled is held as communal property which is periodically divided per capita. The position of each share or Month (Khula) is decided by lot;

after the expiry of the term of a Vesh a majority may within any reasonable time demand a new partition in which case a redistribution of the land is made. The following account of this kind of tenures by Mr. D. G. Barkley for the Administration Report, 1873, is interesting :

"The remarkable feature in the redistributions Trans-Indus was that they were no mere adjustments of possession according to shares, but complete exchanges of property between one group of proprietors and another, followed by division among the proprietors of each group. Nor were they always confined to the proprietors of a single village. The tribe, and not the village, was in many cases the proprietary unit, and the exchange was effected at intervals of three, five, seven, ten, fifteen or thirty years, between the proprietors residing in one village, and those of a neighbouring village. In some cases the land only was exchanged. In others the exchange extended to the houses as well as the land. Since the country came under British rule, every opportunity has been taken to get rid of these periodical exchanges on a large scale by substituting final partitions or adjusting the revenue demand according to the value of the lands actually held by each village ; but the custom is in a few cases still acted upon amongst the proprietors of the same village, though probably no cases remain in which it would be enforced between the proprietors of distinct villages".

The Panjab in fact affords a peculiarly complete series of stages between the purely tribal organisation of the Pathan or Biloch of the frontier hills and the village community of the Jamna districts. The territorial distribution of the frontier tribes is strictly tribal ; each clan or each tribe has a tract allotted to it and within that tract the families or small groups of nearly related families either lead a semi-nomad life or inhabit rude villages round which lie the fields which they cultivate and the rough irrigation works which they have constructed. Shares in land and water were determined by the area of

holding and the amount of canal labour contributed. Gradually land (and water) begins to be the basis of the social structure instead of the kinship. The institution of the *Hamsayah* among the Biloches and Pathans by which refugees from one tribe who claim the protection of the chief of another tribe are affiliated to and their descendants become an integral part of the latter is an admirable example of the process by which subjection to common authority is superimposed upon and ultimately regarded as the same thing with kinship binding communities together. Among the Biloches the tribe or Tuman under its chief or Tumandar is subdivided into a number of clans or Para with their Mukaddams or headmen and each clan into more numerous sects. This district tribal and political organisation is only to be found in Dera Ghazi Khan and its frontier. Elsewhere in the Panjab the tribal bond is merely of common descent and the tribes possess no corporate coherence. Among the Pathans each section of a tribe also has its leading men who is known as Malik; in many but by no means in all tribes, there is a Khan-Khel or chief house usually the eldest branch of the tribe whose Malik is known as Khan and acts as chief of the whole tribe but he was seldom more than their agents in dealing with others; he possesses influence rather than power and the real authority lies in a democratic council, composed of all the Maliks called the Jirga.

The Jat and the Rajputs include the great mass of the dominant land-owning tribes in the cis-Indus portion of the Panjab. Predominantly military or pastoral or agricultural, these as well as the Gujars, Rors, Awans, Gokkars, etc., either are or have been within recent times politically dominant in their tribal territories. Very generally compact territories are held by them even in the south-eastern districts of the Panjab where the village communities are the strongest. Where this is the case the villages of the tribe constitute one or more Thapas or tribal groups of village communities held

together by feudal ties and by the fact or fiction of common ancestry. The chief tribes have thus retained a large number of villages, as the coparcenary owners of single villages or even parts of villages, and they have retained their ancestral or some other recognised mode of sharing—a fact always indicative of strength of union or else of superior origin, and in either case of a strong landlord feeling. The common rule is not to divide up completely, but to leave a portion of the estate in joint ownership. Tribal feeling is strong, and the heads of the village or local group of villages have great influence. The hereditary village artisans and menials owe their tribal allegiance to the agricultural communities, and we still find the tribal organisation of the territorial owners of a tract perpetuated in great integrity by the territorial organisation of the village servants where all but its memory has died out amongst their masters.¹⁰

Among the Tibeto-Himalayan tribes, in Kulu and Saraj for instance, in Kangra district, clan or tribal allotments were possibly the rule but have now been obscured. The peculiar system of the allotment of [holding not in the shape of an ancestral or customary share as in the joint villages of the plains but rather in the shape of an arbitrary allotment from the arable land of the whole country whose integrity is inviolable may be connected with the custom of polyandry in these tracts. The fiscal unit adopted by the Imperial Revenue System was the *Kothi* which signifies the granary or store-house in which the collection of revenue in kind from a circuit of villages were stored. Leaving the Himalayan districts we find among the Boro or Bada tribes of Assam a well developed democratic tribal organisation on a matriarchal basis; there is an elaborate division into numerous sects and the executive consists of a body politic selected from wealthy and respectable men in each sect which still elect the local Rajas or chiefs. Where

¹⁰ Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*.

they have come into contact with the Ahoms feudal traditions have developed the feudal system with its overlord tenures, fiefs, serfs and services. In some places the joint responsibility of the Khel under the headman called Muktar and the superior state representative, Raj Muktar still remain even as groups of Khel so represented still form a Raj or Raij. Similarly the Khasis are divided into petty states or independent groups of villages, each forming a little republic under its own head. In the sister hills, the country is altogether under the chief of Jaintya, who appoints 12 local officials to carry on village affairs, in which they are even now little interfered with. Among them the numerous exogamous clans are based upon descent from a female ancestor. Inheritance is in the female line and the woman is the head of the family.¹¹ Among the Naga tribes occupying the hilly region between Manipur and the south bank of Brahmaputra, the unit is not the village but a subdivision of the tribe called Khel (a word also used among the Panjab castes) or Tepfu exogamous and said to be derived from a single ancestor. The villages though nominally governed by a headman are in practice independent democratic units. The Sema or Sima region (a word also used among the Coorgs) under another adjacent tribe of the same group has a hereditary headman or chief who, however, exercises considerable authority and privileges. The Luseis live in villages under one of the petty chieftains who is entirely independent but has recognised duties to his fellow-villagers and in return receives a certain share of each man's crop. The village is stockaded like those of the Naga, but is laid out differently, the streets radiating from some central open spot, facing which is the chief's house and the Zawlbuk or guest house, where the young men of the village and any strangers sleep, and the chief's meetings are held. The chief settles all disputes in a village. There

¹¹ *District Gazetteer, Kangra.*

is a regular code of punishments for different offences, the chief receiving a share of every fine levied. He has several advisers called Upa. They have the first choice of Jhum land when the chief arranges where the Jhums are to be and sometimes the chief allows them to get a basket from each house. The other village officials are the crier who goes round the village after dark shouting out the chief's orders, the blacksmith and Puithiam or sorcerer who performs sacrifices in cases of illness; these persons generally receive a donation of rice from each house in return for their services. The village and its constitution present many interesting points of difference amongst the wilder tribes and while most of the latter are content with the rude jungle cultivation which prevails amongst the Kol tribes, others have struck out a line of their own and grow superior crops and in one case by means of an elaborate and almost unique system of irrigation. Some tribes are divided into exogamous clans, mostly Totemistic; others live in village communities, each under its own headman independent of the rest; others, again, acknowledge the sway of a local chieftain owning several such villages. In the Chittagong hill tracts each village community is under its own Rooja or Karbari (headman), and they own tribal allegiance to the Bohmong as the chief of the country. The chief is the recognised head of the village, and his word is law to the inhabitants. He settles all disputes that may arise. To assist him, he has three or four headmen chosen by himself. These men form a council and are called by the Kukis Kanubul. These men are supposed to advise the chief on all matters of state and all negotiations with foreigners are carried on through them. Every house in the village contributes towards the chief's maintenance.

Remnants of the clan territorial distribution and village settlement with its socio-juridical organisation on a tribal basis as well as the economic tendency towards a

distribution of land per capita at least after certain main divisions based on kinship are passed, are still to be found throughout upper India. Instances of clan areas with their groups of villages are most frequent. It is noteworthy also how the fiction of common descent is preserved even under circumstances which encourage admission of strangers into tribal organisation. In spite of unions of groups of adjoining villages in troublous times for common defence or the British confusion between ancestral shares and cultivating tenants in the village communities, ethnic ties have still been found strong enough for the application of the principle of joint responsibility as regards revenue. Indeed the general tendency of the North-Western settlement has been to preserve the village bodies, and in the Panjab plains this has been carried out fully, the settlement having created village communities in certain parts by granting waste lands for the enjoyment of a group of holdings in common. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh we frequently come across the clan area, the *Tarf*; the *Thok* is a sub-group which usually become the administrative village and this again is sub-divided into *Patti*. The clans are very largely Rajput, Jat, Bhar, and Ahir, and some are Muhammedans who came with the successive invasions. It is very characteristic that we sometimes find that the lands of the clan area, the *Thok*, are taken, partly in each different soil area and are scattered over the whole *Tarf* so as to secure equable distribution. Village lands also are distributed by standard lots in the same way agricultural customs are recognised and any disputes that arise are settled satisfactorily by the *Panchayat*, which like other *Bhai-achara* institutions, exists in great perfection. Internal troubles destroyed in many cases these democratic clans and villages came to be acquired by local headmen, by managers and revenue-farmers. Overlordships by adjoining *Thakurs* or chiefs was freely accepted and not infrequently invited by local cultivating bodies. The vicissitudes of war and migration

have often obliterated any traces of clan fraternity while the ignorance of the early British settlement officers often destroyed the communal principle by vesting the ownership to any persons who became responsible for the revenue in circumstances when only such persons should be recognised. But whether villages are relics of former kingdoms or chiefships or of democratic clan settlement, whether their composition has now become heterogeneous on account of the influx of new settlers or their communal tenures have been obscured by the importation of the western idea of individual proprietary right, the juridical traditions of clan government and the economic traditions of the village community and communal tenure have survived and are still vital forces for the reconstruction of the village polity. Thus beginning in tribal origins we proceed to a democratic and differentiated social composition and constitution, the village community proper in the fertile plains and valleys of India. Outsiders are associated whose rights have been acquired by purchase or by their having jointly assessed in the payment of revenue in old or modern days. New colonists settle and new court yards are made separated by lanes from the older enclosures and thus by degrees the village grows until it comes to consist of a number of separate wards, usually inhabited by the same caste. There is imported the full staff of artisans, menials and servants who are given allotments of land or are paid in shares of grain at the harvest. The ecclesiastical staff has also its place in rural economy, its shares of village land or emoluments. Individual tenure supercedes the communal tenure. But the waste land is a common pasture for the cattle of the village; its external boundaries are carefully marked and maintained as a common right of the village or rather the township to the exclusion of others. Adjoining villages combine in the same way as tribal aggregations. There are unions of five, seven or hundred villages and their vigour and resistance of those, who in every age and region

have attempted to encroach upon their autonomy, have depended upon particular political conditions and circumstances. Thus in India, the whole framework of the interior management is represented by the congeries of little republics whose internal constitution and condition remain unchanged and which have still survived conquests, usurpations and revolutions that could only affect the control of Imperial Governments.

DOMESTIC ELEMENT IN THE POPULAR CREEDS OF BENGAL.

RAI SAHEB DINESCHANDRA SEN, B.A.,
*Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow, Lecturer in Bengali,
University of Calcutta.*

I propose to shew in this article that almost all the popular creeds of Bengal have been inspired more or less by domestic ideas which now form the mainspring and differentiating feature of some of our greatest religious movements.

Let me commence with a survey of the *Rāma* cult—one of the earliest forms of Vaiṣṇavism, which at one time was the most popular creed not only in Bengal but in the whole of the Āryāvarta, and which had, first of all, laid the foundations of the great temple of domestic virtues in India.

It was Buddhism that had made the earliest protest in the religious history of the world against the divine commandment, "Multiply and be fruitful", by founding monasteries for the Bhikṣus and the Bhikṣunis—the Buddhist monks and nuns. In the *Sāmānya Phala Sutta* the Buddha is found openly to uphold the superiority of celibate life over that of the house-holder in a most eloquent speech which made the great king Ajātaśatru a warm convert to Buddhism. It may be urged that the Rishis of old and the Jaina ascetics had, at an earlier period of history, sometimes led lives of celibacy. But the Rishis, in most cases lived in seclusion with their wives and children surrounded by disciples, the *Gārhaṣṭhāsrama* or home-life being regarded as essential not only for completing their worldly training but spiritual culture as well. Stray cases of celibacy were no doubt to be found amongst the Rishis and ascetics of the

pre-Buddhistic period, but the first great organization of celibate life in monasteries belonged to Buddhism, and this I consider to be the distinguishing mark that separated it from the prevailing forms of Hindu religion in that age, for a compassionate view of universal suffering and the stress laid on the extinction of desires and on the realisation of higher spiritual truths, though they form essential features of the Buddhist religion, are found in an almost equally pronounced form in the Upaniṣadas and other earlier scriptures of the Hindus.

A growing propensity among the young men of the age to respond to this call from monasteries was naturally dreaded by the Hindu community, as life in monasteries meant a severance of all connection with family-life. Though permission of parents was necessary for a young man to enter upon his career as a monk, they could not withhold it in the majority of cases, owing to the desperate eagerness on the part of their children to embrace the monastic life. We know how such permission used to be secured, howevermuch the parents regretted it. In comparatively recent times—in the 16th century—Chaitanya obtained permission from his sorrowing mother, who fasted 12 days after having consented to his *sannyasa*.

The first emphatic reply to this much dreaded call from the monasteries came from Vālmiki, the epic poet, who, according to the latest accepted views of scholars, lived in the 4th century B. C., a conclusion to which I have myself arrived by independent research, but which I need not detail in the present article. The *Rāmāyaṇa* emphatically preaches that there can be no sanctuary as sacred as one's own home. The son who keeps the pledged word of his father is deified. The brother who follows his elder's footsteps and the one that lives like a monk sorrowing over his separation from him, are both elevated to the rank of gods. For a wife there can be no heaven higher than the company of her husband,

though she has to leave a palace and, accompanying him, has to lead a miserable life in forests infested by demons and ferocious animals. The servant who obeys the master with implicit trust and devotion finds a seat in the pantheon of our gods, and the Great Ape of the Epic is to-day worshipped by millions in India. The virtues of friendship and devotion find exalted illustrations in the lives of Sugriva and Vibhīṣaṇa. Morality itself is here seen overshadowed by the towering banner of virtues of family-life. Rāma kills Bāli in a manner which can hardly be defended from a moral standpoint, but it is for the sake of his friendship with Sugriva; and Vibhīṣaṇa wins high laurels for a similar reason, even by abandoning the cause of his kith and kin, nay, by helping in their destruction. Rāvana, the archetype of all evil is not here hated so much as the hunchback who causes a disruption in family-life and Rājā Daśaratha is not admired so much for fulfilling his pledge as for dying for the sake of affection for his son, the banished prince.

It should be borne in mind that the home-life was not altogether turned into "a rosy path of dalliance" in the teachings of the epic poet. All the austerities ever practised by *Yogi* or *Bhikṣu* were undergone by the chief characters. These were not undergone for suppressing human desires by an almost superhuman struggle against flesh, neither for embarking on the perilous intellectual paths to solve the riddles of life nor for trying to know the unknown and the unknowable, but the austerities of the chief characters of the *Rāmāyana* were all for the sake of domestic ties, for the Epic was an irrefutable answer to those who proclaimed that the sphere of high spiritual bliss is outside the pale of one's own home.

It may be urged that some of the Ramayanic episodes were copied from the Buddhist tales. The love of Maddī for her husband Vessantara in the *Vessantara Jātaka* evidently

supplied inspiration for the sketch of the devoted Sītā, and the woes of Dukūṭaka in the *Sāma Jātaka*, we find exactly copied in the tale of Andhamuni of Vālmiki's Epic. The *Jātaka* stories no doubt contain some of the ancient stories of pre-Buddhistic India. But what I want to lay stress upon, in regard to this point is that though stray notes of domestic affection are to be found in ancient Indian lays, as indeed quite naturally in many legends and poems all over the world, the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the first great book which inculcated the religion of domestic virtues and by its presentation of a great story in this new light successfully met the arguments of those who had wanted to establish the superiority of monastic life. The slackened ties of home were strengthened by its teachings and the attempts of the Bhikṣu to demolish home-life found a most vigorous and formidable rebuff at the hands of the Master whose brilliant advocacy of domestic affection fell like the heaviest of thunderbolts on the tops of the great Buddhist monasteries. The *Lalitavistara* and Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* could not make such impression as the *Rāmāyaṇa* did throughout the length and breadth of the Indian Peninsula, from the Himalayan valleys to Cape Comorin. The later Brahmanic school tried, by various interpolations introduced into the poem, to transform the great Epic inculcating domestic virtues into a propagandist work of the Vaiṣṇava sect. But the main feature of the Epic is ill-concealed under the thin veneer of the doctrine of incarnation, disseminated by the Brāhmaṇa zealots.

Nowhere in India has this inspiration of home-life, breathed in the Epic, been so much appreciated as in Bengal. Here the vernacular recensionists made a further advance in investing the incidents of the poem with a living domestic interest. From Krittivāsa to Raghunandan we have a host of Bengali poets each of whom recast the Rama-tale in his own way, adding some elements of home-life peculiar to Bengal. The *Lankā-kāṇḍa* was thoroughly rewritten by them

in the light of the new devotional feeling favoured in this soil in the 16th century. In fact, in Bengal we have made the *Rāma*-cult absolutely ours in every respect putting an emphatic stress on its domestic features, whereas in the work of Tulsi Das, these have been made subservient to a whole-hearted devotion for Rāma in a semi-pantheistic spirit. The characters of Rāma and Sītā in the Bengali recensions are not at all on the lines of the great Epic. They are Bengali in every respect, and though their figures have undoubtedly been made less towering, they win our affection and sympathy the more, being rendered into exact copies of men and women as we find in Bengali homes. The Bengali poets have partially redeemed the character of Kaikeyī by ascribing to her a remorse which we do not find in the Sanskrit original. On Rāma's return to Ayodhya after fourteen years' exile he finds Kaikeyī covered with shame and remorse that excite our pity, and one poet puts this little speech into her mouth :

“ Oh Rāma! Oh my darling! after long years hast thou returned. My own son looks upon me with contempt. Bharat does not call me mother and Śatrughna will not even look at my face.”

The domestic ideas set forth in the *Rāmāyana* still hold up the torch for illuminating the paths of our people from infancy. We need only name Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to denote brotherly devotion. These names, uttered together to a Bengali, without requiring further elucidation, carry a suggestiveness of the highest love existing between two brothers. Every girl hears from her infancy that she should be true like Sītā. The blessings of her elders on her have always been, “ May you have a mother-in-law like Kauśalyā and a brother-in-law like Lakṣmaṇa.” So the gods of the *Rāmāyana* really represent our own conception of the ideal virtues of domestic life and are not the dwellers of any other paradise than the Bengali homes.

We next come to the *Saura* (solar) cult. This, I think, is one of the oldest religious cults of the Āryans. Its myth has given a colouring to the Christian and Vaiṣṇava faiths and festivities, and evidences of its prevalence in the pre-historic times are found all over the Āryan world. Even in the 12th and 13th centuries, statues of the Sun-god made in Bengal are found wearing boots, which offer a striking contrast to the naked "lotus feet" of all other gods and goddesses of the Hindus. This proves that the god had travelled from a far northern chilly region to this tropical clime of ours, and that even at such a late period he could not shake off the leather from his feet though he looked queer with it in the bare-footed pantheon of our deities.

But from whatever country he might have come in a primitive age, the Bengalis have looked at him against the back ground of domestic life and have attributed to him homely qualities and occupations in their earliest songs in praise of him. In these we find him described first as a baby. He is asleep. Invocations are offered by the votary with a view to rouse him from sleep. The mother of the baby-god sprinkles red sandal drops, the boys ring bells and sing his praises. He rises slowly, and majestically does he appear over the tops of the houses of Brāhmaṇas, flooding them with a rich red colour. The girls make offerings to him. Then does he shew himself over the houses of the brass-makers, the bell-metal-sellers and the weavers. In one song we come across the question, "How does he look, brother, when he rises?" The question is differently answered; one says "like fire", another says "like the red flower" and a third says, "like the lips reddened by betel".

The mother of the Sun-god approaches him and with towel and perfumed oils to take him to the bathing *ghāt* of a tank. The babyhood of the god is described in the songs in a language of endearment for which the Bengali poets have a special aptitude. The child Sun-god gradually grows to manhood

when the good neighbours of his mother come and tell her : "See what a longing look does he cast on the blue *sādi* of a Brāhmaṇa girl spread from the railing of her house, and how eagerly does he listen to the merry sound of anklets on the feet of village girls ; it is now time that you should think of his marriage".

The marriage of the Sun-god with Gaurī, the girl-wife, opens up another phase of our domestic life. The girls were taken away from the care of their parents and subjected to the hard discipline of a wife at an early age, even when they had scarcely grown out of their childhood. The subject is full of pathos and of a very real sorrow to parents. The scene of parting is thus described :

The sister of Gaurī, who used to pick quarrels with her every now and then, goes to a corner and weeps, hiding her face.

Gaurī says, "Mother dear, keep me with you, do not let them take me".

The mother sobs and says, "How can that be done, my darling ? I have taken money and made a contract".

The father wipes away his tears with his cloth but counts the money given by the bridegroom.

The Sun-god is now in a boat with his little wife Gaurī. She addresses the boatman and says, "Brother boatman, row the boat slowly a while, let me hear a little more the lamentations of my mother"; for the mother's laments were becoming less and less audible as the boat got away further from the shore.

Then through her tears she looks at the Sun-god and timidly asks him "With you, my husband, I will go, but who will give me rice to eat?"

"In my fair country ploughmen are tilling lands for you, my darling, and rice will not be wanting".

"With you, my husband, I will go, but where shall I get clothes when I shall need them?"

With a smile at the query but still with very real affection, the god says, "In my fair country, weavers are busy making fine blue *sāḍis* for you and you will have them, my darling".

But the real question has not yet been asked. She has scarce the heart to put it. Collecting all the strength of her heart she at last speaks out in a choked voice that trembles for very shame and sorrow, "With you, my husband, I will go, but whom shall I call 'mother' there?"

The affectionate bridegroom holds her little *hiṣṭi* close to his bosom and says, "Why, my darling, *my* mother will be mother unto you".

The Sun-god in these rustic vernacular songs composed probably in the 12th or 13th century, is a country lad with strong domestic instincts and when his worship was supplanted in a later age by that of Viṣṇu and other gods, all that had created this domestic interest in his songs, was accentuated and polished rather than given up, so that home element remains predominant even in the later stages of the different progressive faiths of Bengal.

By way of illustration, we may refer to the *āgamani* songs of the Śākta cult. There Gaurī figures not as the wife of the Sun-god, but of the great god Śiva. The sorrows of the mother are described in these songs with pathos, not a whit less than in the older songs, but in a language which is much more polished and elegant. Menakā, the mother of Gaurī says to her husband Himavat, "Go to Kailās, and bring me back my Gaurī. I have heard from Nārada, that she weeps and cries, 'Mamma, Oh mamma'. Old Śiva is given to drugs and in his intoxication abuses Gaurī for no fault, and I have heard it, too, that all we had presented to Gaurī as dowry in her marriage has been sold off by him for purchasing drugs".

Himavat, the 'Lord of mountains, is identical with the Himalayan Range. So much of human interest is given to the inert mount, figuring as a god, in these songs that the

queen Menakā in one of them refers to his natural immobility by saying in an apologetic tone, "Yes, I know that you are not fit to go, that old complaint of your rheumatism comes upon you every now and then". In a charming song Menakā says, "Oh my lord, I dreamt as if she came to me; as I stretched forth my arms to embrace her she vanished, ah how cruel she is, but that is not her fault at all. She has inherited that stony heart from her father." That Himavat is a huge block of stone is not at all lost sight of by the poets when they represent him as a god but they invest the material object with human qualities in order to make the picture vivid. The Vaiṣṇavas have similar songs describing the grief of Yaśodā parted from young Krishna. So we see that our rustic poets, unlike our philosophers, made their gods quite comprehensible to us, nay, they shaped them as men and women brought up in Bengali homes with sentiments peculiar to the home-staying race of Bengal.

In the *Bratakaṭhās* of Bengal, we find simple prayers made by the girls, to Saura, the Sun-god, for keeping their brothers and fathers safe in their voyages over the rough seas during the monsoons. The little girls' prayers have a charm and an appeal which at once lay bare the heart of these affectionate things, throbbing with anxiety for the safety of those who have gone abroad and full of eager expectancy for their return.

One point needs to be emphasised in regard to the domestic element in these religious creeds. The Buddha shines in solitary majesty. The essence of the Buddhist doctrine in those days favoured the stoic calm of celibate life free from all earthly bonds, and woman was regarded an impediment to all spiritual progress. The idea was, no doubt, in a later age imbibed by the sister creed of Hinduism, when that religion was reconstructed more or less under the Buddhist ideal of extinction of all desires. But the Hindu Renaissance of the mediaeval age viewed matters from a quite different standpoint. It reserved an important seat for woman in all its theological and religious

propaganda, nay, it went a step further and asserted that every god should have his consort by his side in religious worship. The word, *jugala* in Bengali is suggestive of this important innovation in the history of almost all our popular religious cults. *Sitā* and *Rāma*, *Rādhā* and *Krishna* are to be worshipped *together*. Kālidāsa had, as early as the 5th century A.D., struck the keynote to this *jugala*-worship when he said :

वागर्थाविवसंपृक्ती वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

which means that *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* are both as inseparably bound together as the word is with its import. In the *Vaiṣṇava* theology the name of the female deity ranked higher and *Sitā-Rāma* and *Rādhā-Krishna* are to be invoked in this order and in no case is this order of feminine precedence to be reversed. Formerly in Bengal, as in other parts of India, there were to be found images of *Krishna* alone; but when the idea of *jugala* possessed the country, the figure of *Rādhā* was placed by its side in a later age. This will be seen from the fact that in all old temples of *Krishna*, the image of the god which is older, is made in stone, but the priests later on placed by its side, as supplementary, also an image of *Rādhā* made of bell-metal or by a combination of eight metals, commonly known as the *aṣṭadhātu*. The idea of *jugala* caught the fancy of our people in the 13th and 14th centuries when owing to the terror created by iconoclasm, the builders of stone-images had practically abandoned their occupation. So a metallic figure of *Rādhā* had to be made.

As a reaction against the ideal set up by the Great Bhikṣu, the *Bhāgavata* and some of the *Tantras* propounded this new religious cult in an emphatic manner. From a highly ascetic and unbending rigidity the new reactionary movement turned the public taste to sexual romance. The single was

held to be inadequate and imperfect. The religions of Bengal held up the *jugal* as their ideal. Complete control over desires was no longer the ideal and the whole country yielded to the charm of free enjoyment of love which they imported into their religious creeds. The later schools of *Parakiya* and *Sahajiya* sprang up as a result of this new reactionary movement. In Orissa, this doctrine of perfection to be attained by free love became so depraved, that the figures of men and women in bas-relief in the Kanarak and Puri temples repel us by their startling indecency; and from the *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva to the *Krishna Kirtan* of Chāṇḍīdās the same idea of unrestrained profligacy, occasionally redeemed by a spirit of faith and devotion, is the most striking phenomenon in literature.

In Bengal the Bhikṣu quietly passed away or died a natural death in the arms of the Bhikṣuni, and what survived of them came out of the monasteries as Neda-Nedis steeped in sexual pleasures, quite different from those who had taken the vow of celibacy and a life of abstinence. With the return of the soul from abstinence to sexual romance the domestic interest developed in the various cults which had at first started with asceticism and the control of passions. We find the old Śiva in many of our popular vernacular songs quarrelling with his consort Pārvatī who charges him with infidelity in the most outspoken language. The depth of their love is also a significant point which strikes us in art as well as in literature. We find Śiva and Pārvatī not only together in their stone-images but embracing each other in a manner indicating the great warmth of conjugal felicity and in the copperplate inscriptions of the 12th and 13th centuries, the preliminary verses to these Deities describe their positions when inspired by the deep and felicitous joy of union.

In the oldest vernacular songs to Śiva, we find him as the very proper deity for the agricultural people who composed his songs. He comes here divested of his

terrible form of Rudra which he has in the Vedas. He figures as the patriarch of a family whose occupation is chiefly agricultural. He is of a happy-go-lucky temper and is a docile husband whose sexual morals are not always of an unimpeachable nature. He quarrels with his wife who is described as a shrew and an autocratic-tempered woman. Rameśvara, who incorporated a very old song to Śiva in his *Sivāyana* in the 17th century, has preserved for us the sketch of this old god of the pastoral country as he used to be worshipped by the teeming agricultural population of Bengal. Here old Śiv pursues his agricultural operations with the help of his servant Bhīma. We find the god levelling the ground and planting rice on the ridges between the furrows. The god weeds out the grasses and seriously applies himself to work with a weeding hook. An almost pathetic interest is created when we find the Divine Soul destroying leeches in his corn-field by applying lime-water or when in want of requisite funds for his agricultural speculations he goes to Indra and craves a loan of money from him by executing a bond or seeks a lease of some lands much in the same way as a peasant now-a-days seeks a loan from some village Shylock. We find the old god watching his corn-fields in the night with the ferocious look (to use the expression of a poet) of a tiger, which of course indicates his vigilance. The various kinds of rice available in Bengal are all classified and enumerated with an exactness which only a rustic or a peasant poet could do. Imagine how glad were the rustic people when they heard in a song of Śiva all that they wanted and loved to hear. Their religious belief thus got its grounding in the experiences and joys of their own life. In the *Śūnya Purāṇa*, composed in the 11th century we find a devotee sorrowing over the Great God's poverty. "Why do you go a-begging, my lord, from door to door?" he asks sadly, "some day you get alms and on other days you return disappointed", and he advises the god to sow

seeds of pulses and rice. "You besmear your body with dust and ashes for want of oil; that is not good, my lord. Sow mustard seeds and get oil for yourself. How long will you, my lord, wear the tiger skin? Cultivate cotton, learn to weave, and make clothes for yourself." The devotee instructs him in the ways of cultivation, moved by great sympathy and love for his poverty-stricken god. A distinguished European writer once discovered real poetry in this crude agricultural song of Śiva. Ordinarily a man prays to his god for granting him riches and other things that he may want. But here the self-forgetful devotee is so lost in love for the god he worships, that he is not at all moved by any personal consideration, his only care being to see his god well off and happy.

Śiva is not the only God whom we find in the capacity of a farmer. In one of the *Bṛalakathās* or stories recited at the time of popular worship, that has come down to us from the 9th century if not earlier, we find the question put by a worshipper to his comrade, "Where is the god Indra gone?" The answer is, "He is husking rice".

Thus it will be seen that the gods of the Bengali pantheon of various sects are real figures possessing qualities which the Bengali peasants, who composed these rustic songs for the most part in those days, appreciated most in men. The conception of a formless god, who is above all qualities, without any attribute or energy—the one whom the Vedantists contemplate—can never appeal to millions, nor are the Bengali gods, if we may use such an expression, high towering figures, unapproachable by reason of their super-human qualities, who terrorise men by their inscrutable Divine powers. A Sun-god, a Krishna or a Śiva is often on the same level with his worshipper and the latter shares the joys of his marriage, strings his love-tales into songs and laments his poverty as if it had befallen a member of his own family.

But this is but one side of the picture. The Śiva legends became more edifying when the Brahmanic school took him up from rustic hands, aryanised him and placed him in their temple. The agricultural pursuits were abandoned and Śiva became sublime with all the attributes given him by the Hindu Renaissance, and his character as patriarch of a family was even more glorified by this change of form.

He is depicted as one full of compassion and hater of none. Kāśidās records his conversation with a Rishi. The Great God smiles and says, "You ask why I wear the tiger skin? It is because the other gods wear fine and resplendent apparels and they hate this animal skin. I love what others hate. These gods are mad after perfumes and scents and they hate ashes of the funeral ground and it is for this that I paint my body with these ashes. They ride majestic steeds and white elephants. None cared to ride this poor bullock, for this I ride this animal".

The goddess Gaṅgā was charged with some offence and outcasted. She sought Śiva's help in her distress. The Great God honoured her saying, "Praises and abuses are all the same to me. I love the fallen, the wretched, and will never refuse one who seeks my help".

Kubera, the lord of wealth, is his servant. Yet he is a beggar—the divine beggar that is the one ideal of the Brāhmaṇa race who take pride in their poverty as did their Great God. Poverty here is renunciation and instead of making one poor enriches one's soul. At the churning of ocean when precious things sprang from it, the gods divided the prizes amongst themselves, Śiva was not called at the time; but when at the second churning poison arose and threatened to flood the universe, the gods prayed to him for help. He drank up the poison, the struggle was great and it left a blue mark on his throat, sacred to his followers as is the cross to the Christian, reminding them of the pain he suffered to save the world from destruction.

Śiva is the ideal master of the house. He is an ascetic but does not abandon home. The doctrine of living at home and training one's soul to religious bliss, can have no higher ideal than the Great God. All the higher truths of religion are taught by him to his consort and the vast Tāntric literature pretends to embody the instructions given by Śiva to Pārvatī. Here Śiva is called *Bhola*, a Bengali word which suggests a world of spiritual ideas. The word *Bhola* implies that his temper is unruffled; abuse him and he will smile. He is ever forgetful, never remembers wrongs and is full of compassion. The love of the Great God, described in the beautiful legend of his carrying the dead body of his consort on his shoulders and wandering over the whole universe absorbed in contemplation, has been dealt with by many of our poets, the best of whom, Hemchandra, gives a mystic interpretation to this tale in his poem *Daśa Mahāvidyā*.

Yet with all his benevolence he is still the Rudra Deva, the lord of destruction. If he is angry, the planets will run awry and dash against each other and the whole universe will be upset and destroyed. It is his great restraint and control over temper that is the most beautiful trait in his character, for his anger is never roused except when universal good is at stake.

The Great God frequently passes into *samādhi* or vision beatific, and no mortal eye can behold the region where his soul casts anchor and remains fixed for ages. When absorbed in one such mystic vision Kāma, the God of Love, aimed his invincible flowery dart at him and disturbed his trance, but one fiery glance from his third eye reduced the fragile Kāmadeva to ashes.

In the Śākta cult we find Divine motherhood represented in various aspects. In Rāmeśvara's *Śivāyana*, Śakti as wife is cross and self-willed, not at all of a forgiving disposition towards her husband, but when she appears as distributing food, she is amiability herself and shows that loving motherhood of

which we all have seen instances in Bengali kitchens. The poet sketched the mother of Bengal in the most agreeable aspect recollected by children, viz. in the act of distributing food, the taste of which, sweetened by the memory of the affectionate hand that served it, is a never-to-be-forgotten joy in life. In Kavi Kankan's *Candī Śakti* appears in all her majesty, autocratic, dreaded and resourceful, almost repelling by the crude vehemence of her temper. The reader, nevertheless, feels the warmth of intense motherly love, bent on rescuing the child from distress regardless of ways and means. In Bharat Chandra's *Annadā Mangal*, she is a quarrelsome wife but full of the milk of human kindness, unable to resist an appeal for help even when the applicant is a sworn enemy of her lord. When one comes to her as child she is completely overcome and remembers no ill received from him. This quality is strikingly observed in her merciful attitude to Vyāsa, who had vilified her husband but in great distress sought her interceding grace. But it is in Rām Prasād's songs that the motherly aspect comes out in the most fascinating form. The poet imitates unconsciously the mannerisms of a child, for by his entire spiritual dependence he has become like one. He prattles like a child before the Mother, sometimes accusing her of cruelty and informing her of his resolve not to speak to her. "Many have no mothers, but do they not live?" he asks only to accentuate his appeal for her commiseration. At another time he says that a disappointed suppliant for her grace, he will turn a beggar and beg from door to door like a helpless orphan. The language is sweet and felicitous and the charm lies in the spirit of resignation, not inspired by conscious efforts of a remorseful soul, but by an overpowering sense of dependence which none but a child can realise. The mother often appears in the terrible form, but just like a boatman of Eastern Bengal, who sees the stormy Padmā beneath his boat, but considering himself as a child of the river does not dread her, nay even enjoys the sublime tossing of her waves in a storm, so does Rām

Prasād confident of the affection of the Divine Mother, see in the majesty and terrors of the destructive law of the universe her reassuring smile which dispels all fears of the devotee, who is her child in spirit. He has woven this all-embracing motherly love into a hundred songs in which the terrible mother, the sublime mother, is sweetness itself to her child.

Now we have seen that the deity of Bengal has been sometimes the patriarch of Hindu homes as we find in the conception of Śiva, sometimes the terrible Śakti, the Divine Mother, arbitrary and self-willed, but ever ready to stretch forth her helping hand to those who would cling to her like children; and in the 18th century the progressing Śāktism invested her with a poetic garb in which the terrible and the sublime are absorbed in an all-embracing love for the resigned child.

Let us now come to a consideration of Vaiṣṇava theology as outshone all other creeds in spiritualizing domestic tenets.

Bengal is a pastoral country teeming with cows. On her grassy meadows and fields the cowherd is a familiar figure and the sound of his flute by noontide and at evening spreads a poetic charm over the dark-blue landscape around. The *Krishna* cult is here associated with the pastoral life of that deity. Krishna as king of Mathurā and Dvaraka is little regarded in this province. If one researches through the whole of old Bengali literature he will come across many old Manuscripts which deal with that portion of the *Bhāgavata*, the 10th canto, in which his amours with Gopis, his flute-playing and childish freaks are described, but very rarely will the student find any Bengali recension of any other cantos of that Purāṇa. The martial career of Krishna and his political wisdom rarely form the themes of a Bengali devotee's song. Krishna's sceptre has very little terror for him, nor do the royal robes of the divine monarch dazzle his eyes. Divested of all his might and show of power,

the god has come to Bengal as a cowherd with his flute. The boy Krishna is described by Bengali poets as the very prince of mischief and wild pranks. Yet the glowing descriptions of Krishna's childish freaks only enhance the impression of supreme love in which he is held by his mother. This obviously indicates the philosophy of the growth of motherly feelings. Though she always points out a child's faults and is never weary of trying to reform him by her sermons, it is a curious psychological phenomenon that in her heart of hearts she does not seem to like a reformed child. Who would like the sight of a stagnant rivulet? We all like to see it flowing, even though its dance may drench our raiment. Premature wisdom is repelling in a child. A boy who sits quiet like a Buddhist monk is not generally loved, however much he may be admired. The boy must be playful, active, even verging on perversity and child Krishna typifies all these qualities and proves that the wicked boy is generally the pet of the mother.

We have seen that the religious sentiment of the Bengali people originated from, and was continually nourished by domestic feeling and the deities were more or less cast after the model of what the people themselves were in their homes. The beginning of their mode of worship was crude. The deities worshipped were originally non-Āryan, but as gradually the high culture of the Āryans filtered down, they were associated with the gods and goddesses of the Brahmanic pantheon, and the emotional side of the non-Āryans, more accurately the Dravidians, added sweetness to the vigorous intellectuality of Āryan belief. Here in Bengal, home-life supplanted an all-inspiring impetus to the building of the Hindu religious pantheon and however crude the beginning, the conception of Godhead and our relation to Him was realised through emotions which were more or less of a domestic kind.

The Vaiṣṇava theology, as I have already stated, reached its highest point and very flower in the realisation of the

emotional side of religion. It boldly asserted that there was no form of higher faith among the world's religious systems which did not possess an honoured place in the scope of the Vaiṣṇava doctrines.

First of all, the "quiet" or the *śānta* stage is that attained by the Buddha and other sages where the human soul is made clear of the meshes of flesh by removing the desires. The field is weeded out of wild plants and becomes fit for the sowing of the spiritual seed. The Vaiṣṇavas say that the doctrine of a moral life belongs to this initial stage when the mind is placed under discipline and control.

The next is "service" or *dāśya*, where the devotee, after having grown fit by bringing his restless soul under discipline is eager to establish a relation between himself and his God. This relation is that of a servant to his master; he has for his motto "duty". He considers all work holy in this stage and longs to hear the applauding word, "Well done", from his Lord after his day's labours. This stage, says the *Caritāmrita*, includes the *śānta* or the "quiet" and is a step forward in the spiritual progress of a man, inasmuch as he has been able now to establish some definite relation between himself and his Maker.

The next stage in this progressive faith is the *sakhya* or "friendship". Here the devotee has gained another step and has come nearer to Him. God is now not at such a distance as the master is from his servant. The devotee feels that in this stage he has to play with his brother-men of the world with a heart full of love and sweetness and is conscious that in this play He, the Lord, is always his playmate to direct and control the play, encouraging him when he is weary and protecting him from evil at every crisis. The devotee sees the divine smile and filled with love for Him, knows how to love others. The *sakhya* which comprehends as the *Caritāmrita* says all the attributes of *śānta* and *dāśya*, has again gained a step, in as much as sweetness and love has been added to a mere moral sense.

In the next higher stage comes the *vātsalya*. The devotee realises God as the Child. This may appear a mental paradox to those who have been accustomed to look upon God as Father only. But is not the sentiment inspired by the child the grandest emotion ever felt by a human being? A little thing, it gives infinite pleasure: it shews beauty unperceived by others, the mother alone discovers it. Through a small vista the whole heaven, as it were, presents itself before the amazed eyes of the mother. How could such a wonderful thing be ever believed that a tigress that was ferocity itself, gathers up all conceivable tenderness in her eyes when beholding her cub? The discovery of the beautiful new-born child in the midst of things rotten and decayed is a presentation to the soul of the sight of One who is ever new in the universe and through all the wear and tear of ages keeps up the charm of the unfading smile in all that we observe in this phenomenal world of ours. And this stage comprehends, according to the *Caritāmrita* all the previous phases of *śānta*, *dāsyā* and *sakhya*, and implies a further advance in the realisation of bliss. The devotee, one who the child Krishna in all that smiles and plays around as a soul, supplies a never-ceasing fountain of new delights to the soul.

The last stage is the *mādhurya*. This is typified by the love of man for woman. It includes in its scope all the attributes of *dāsyā*, for here the devotee's hand is ever ready to serve; of *sakhya*, for he is absorbed in his plays with his Divine Playfellow; of *vātsalya*, for he discovers in his loving God all the beauty and grace which the fondest of mothers ever found in the face of her child and much more, in as much as every sound conveys to him a message from the Lord, every form a sense of divine presence and every touch the warmth of divine contact. The devotee attains to a state of fine frenzy which lends the highest poetic significance to this material world, which becomes to his senses a symbol of the greatest spiritual bliss. The rustling

wind is taken as indicating His approach, the dark blue sky, the sea and landscape become symbolic of the colour of the Divine Figure. The *mādhurya* creates emotional felicities and a longing which are but imperfectly expressed in the best worldly poems dealing with the romance of love.

Thus home relations are gradually idealised till the highest point of emotional fervour is reached. Through the doorway of the servants' outer quarters, through the front garden of the home where we play with our playfellows, our brothers and sisters, through sleeping room of the baby where the mother watches through the right and last of all through the closed door of the nuptial chamber—from the finite the devotee's soul wends along its long journey towards the Infinite. The small windows and shutters of our houses open a vista commanding the outlook of the Illimitable. The Vaiṣṇavas believe that the Incomprehensible may be brought within the range of human realisation—nay loved a thousand times more than ever a mother or a lover loved, and as an illustration of this they point to Chaitanya's life which has been woven into a hundred songs by their poets.

This home-life is now about to be broken. The parents are no longer loved with absolute trust and devotion and the baby itself scarcely imparts more delight to the soul than gold. How can the spiritual soul now realise the *vātsalya* as people did in the days when the *Rāmāyaṇa* was their one Scripture? How can the idea of *sakhya*, which to be spiritualised must be universal, elevate the soul, when the idea of brotherhood has become clannish and confined to the interest of a few named a nation? How can even *dāsyā* flourish, when the ideal of loyalty to the throne seems to be swept away by the whirlwind of Bolshevich ideas? The *mādhurya* is now a dream far off from our realisation when sexual love has lost the saving graces of devotion and poetry and has been reduced to fleeting emotions ever delighting in new conquests. Nuptial purity has lost its sacredness and

many writers are advocating a contract system in marriage. "Give up" is the cry heard all around and nowhere does anybody say, "Come unto me and I will give". The sublime teachings of *dāśya*, which finds blessedness in work, cannot find room anywhere in the present state of society, where work has lost its holy motive and is directed to legalised robbery, and huge machines are being scientifically manufactured for the destruction of man. Who will in this unhinged state of people's mentality stand up with God's banner in his hands and say "I will serve Thee, O Lord, as a devoted servant serves his master. I will hear Thy voice, my great Play-fellow, in my play with others and listen not to party-politics which shut off Thy voice from me. I will delight in Thee as the mother delights in her babe, as a lover delights in the beloved of his dreams." Who will rebuild the temples that have been broken and repair the churches where the figures of Christ and Mary lie unadorned, where some people in the frenzy of their excited blood even go so far as to declare that Christ came to the world with a sword in hand to support *their* cause and to declare it holy? The opposite party are also not slow in giving him the same character, and they invoke his co-operation in their destructive policy, which they also misname "righteousness".

In this state of society all around, the peaceful, sweet and all-sacrificing devotion of family-life which inspired most of our religious cults with a spirit of universal love and brotherhood—the first lessons of which were taught us by those who loved us most—is a subject that may be held as deserving of an attentive consideration for rebuilding society in the light of all that is good and holy. And this my humble contribution to a work which commemorates the devoted services of a great man, whose deep love for the good of our Alma Mater has been to me a source of perpetual wonder, gratitude and admiration, will, I hope commend itself to my readers owing to the earnest goodwill with which it has been written. **सद्धि।**

ON THE ASCERTAINMENT OF PRAMĀṆA IN THE NYĀYA SYSTEM.

SATISCHANDRA CHATTERJEE, M.A.,
Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Calcutta.

The Nyāya system is concerned primarily with conditions of correct thinking and accurate scientific investigation. It lays down the rules and methods that are essentially necessary for a clear and precise understanding of all the materials of our knowledge derived from sense-perceptions and authoritative statements. With this end in view the Nyāya system deals with all those things that are involved, either directly or indirectly, in the attempt at a correct and consistent knowledge of reality. That this is so is clearly evidenced by the use of the term *Ānvikṣiki* as synonym for the Nyāya Philosophy. (The term *Ānvikṣiki* literally means the science of the processes and methods of a reasoned and systematic knowledge of objects, posterior to a general understanding of them, on the basis of observation and testimony.) In short, it is the science of a reflective and analytical knowledge of objects, subsequent to a less reflective and less analytical knowledge in which the subject is more receptive than critical. Accordingly Nyāya may be described as the science of the conditions and methods of accurate investigation and consistent conception of objects.¹

But an investigation into the conditions of correct thinking and accurate conception logically involves an enquiry

¹ प्रमावेरवर्तनीयं त्वाद्यः प्रत्यक्षानुमानितमनुमानं त्वादीया प्रत्यक्षानुमानादीचितत्वादीयवस्तुतया
तथा प्रवर्तत प्रमावीचिकी त्वादिपद्या त्वाद्यशास्त्रम् । *Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya on Nyāya-sūtra*,
An. 1, Ad. 1.

into the nature of truth and accuracy as such. What then is the characteristic mark of truth, the norm or measure of true knowledge, the standard of validity? This question and its treatment at the hands of the Naiyāyikas are matters of a very great interest in the Nyāya system. It is just the question as to the nature of *pramāṇa*, the ground of valid knowledge,—a problem which stands face to face with us in every complete epistemological investigation and calls for some sort of solution or other.

It is a matter of historical interest to note here that the question as to the nature of *pramāṇa* or the ground of validity was first suggested to the Naiyāyikas by the Buddhists and other sceptical thinkers of ancient India in the course of their attack and destructive criticisms on Gotama's Aphorisms. These sceptical thinkers set at naught the whole of Gotama's teaching as a superstructure based on an unreal and imaginary foundation. For while Gotama in his writings teaches that the *summum bonum* is to be attained by means of right knowledge of the sixteen categories, the sceptical contention is that it is nowise possible for us to reach the right sort of knowledge herein required. To say that something is right or otherwise we must prove that it is really so and not the contrary. But how are we to know that the proof advanced is genuine and not a mere semblance of proof? How are we to validate our proof? From the nature of the case the task is an impossible intellectual feat which no one can perform. Either we must accept the proof as such or we must give some other proof for it. In either case there is no satisfactory solution of the problem. On the one hand mere acceptance is no proof of the thing accepted; while, on the other, the same question recurs with every answer in the form of an infinite regress (अनादिपरम्परा).

It was with this object of meeting these difficulties and justifying Gotama's teaching as against his opponents that Vātsyāyana in his commentary entered on a critical

consideration of the nature of proof or the ground of valid knowledge (प्रमाणम्). In this Vātsyāyana was followed in the main by such Naiyāyika writers as Udyotakara, Vācaspati, Udayana and others who explained Vātsyāyana's views more fully and discussed many sideissues arising out of it. (Now according to the Naiyāyikas, proof or ground of valid knowledge is that which is connected with a right cognition of objects, desirable or otherwise, and is in perfect accord with the real nature and relations of the objects so cognised.) Thus proof is first a source of right cognition or true knowledge of the objects with which it is concerned.²

Secondly, proof is in perfect harmony with the nature and attribute of its object. That is, an act of knowledge is valid, and proved when it represents its object in the same character and spatial-temporal relations in which the object actually exists.³

But now the question is : How do we know that the proof is really accompanied by a true representation of its object (अर्थवत्) ? The Naiyāyikas' answer is : It is by virtue of the fact that the proof leads to a successful reaction on the part of one who acts in accordance with that proof. A subject knows certain objects by means of a proof or a source of valid knowledge. This cognition of objects sets up certain psycho-physical reactions in the subject, which are directed either to obtain or to avoid them. Now the success of these reactions, their producing the desired result, namely, avoidance or attainment of the objects, is strong evidence in favour of a real correspondence between that act of knowledge and the object

* Cf. प्रमाणतयाऽर्थप्रतिपत्तेः । *Nyāya-sūtra*, xxix, An. 2, Ad. 4; प्रमाणजनकरीष्यार्थप्रतिपत्तिः । *Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya*; सम्बन्धनुसृतसाधनं प्रमाणम् । *Bhāṣarvajña, Nyāyasāra*

* प्रमाणं तावदर्थपरिच्छेदकम् । *Nyāya-vārttika*; तेनार्थान्वेषिचारीत्यर्थः । इत्यनेन प्रार्थान्वेषिचारीता प्रमाणस्य, यदेवकालाकारावस्थानराविसंवादीऽर्थेऽप्यप्रकारयोस्तदुपदर्शितयोः । *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*; अर्थवत्त्वमर्थान्वेषिचारीत्वमर्थान्वेषिचारीतुल्यजनकत्वमित्यर्थः । *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-parisuddhi*. सम्बन्धनान्वेषिचारी योऽसावनुसरो वस्तुपरिच्छेदः . . तस्य साधनम् । *Jayasimha, Nyāya-tātparya-dīpikā*.

known through it. If the act of knowledge does not actually correspond to its object, then it could never have produced successful reaction on the part of one who acts on it. (Thus success of reaction (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यम्) on the part of a subject who has a right cognition of objects, through a certain proof or source of knowledge (प्रमाणादौर्ध्वप्रतिपत्तौ), is evidence enough for there being actual correspondence between the object and the proof.⁴)

Let us now try to determine more precisely the logical character of the argument employed by the Naiyāyikas to establish the validity of *pramāṇa*. To them, as we have already seen, a *pramāṇa* is valid and corresponds to the real nature and attributes of its object (अर्थवत्) when it leads to successful reaction or conative satisfaction (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यम्). The validity of a *pramāṇa* is thus to be *inferred* from its capacity for producing fruitful action. A *pramāṇa* or means of knowledge as such is not self-proved, nor can we say that validity is so inherent in all cognitions as to make it self-evident and thereby leave no doubt about their claim to validity (स्वतःप्रामाण्यम्). On the other hand, it is not infrequently found that doubt arises as to the validity of many cognitions (प्रामाण्यसंशयः). Hence the validity of a *pramāṇa* is to be known from some other valid source (परतःप्रामाण्यम्). This source, in the argument employed above, is of the nature of an inference of a formal material character.⁵

(It is first stated as a general or formal principle of truth that what is valid produces fruitful action. This general principle is also shown to be materially valid by reference to certain positive instances, in which a valid cognition leads to successful reaction, as well as certain negative instances in

* प्रमाणादौर्ध्वप्रतिपत्तौ प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यादर्थवत् प्रमाणात् । प्रमाणेन स्वस्वतः ज्ञाताऽर्थस्तु यत्नजननेन प्रवृत्तिरिति सिद्धावति वा । "तत्त्वज्ञानिज्ञाताप्रवृत्तयः स्वनीहा प्रवृत्तिरित्युच्यते । सामर्थ्यं पुनरज्ञातप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् । Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya; उद्दिष्टपुनरित्यर्थेव प्रामाण्यवत् स्वनीहा प्रवृत्तिरिति च यथा प्रमाणात्मावति इति व्यतिरेकी हेतुः । Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyā-ṭīkā.

⁵ प्रामाण्यं हि स्वतःप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वानुमेयम् । Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyā-parisuddhi.

which absence of validity means also an absence of fruitful action.'

Next by the application of this principle it is established that Perception, Inference, Analogy, and Verbal Testimony are valid sources of knowledge, are *pramāṇa*. In this inference the ground of conclusion (हेतुः) is conative satisfaction (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यम्), since it is the mark or sign by which we are to ascertain what sources of knowledge are valid and what are not.⁷

From the foregoing account it appears clearly that, unlike other philosophers, the Naiyāyikas do not unreservedly advocate the principle of self-evidence (स्वतःप्रामाण्यम्) in their acceptance of the validity of *pramāṇa*, but have recourse to a process of ratiocination in the form of an inference in order to establish the validity of *pramāṇa*. They are generally in favour of adducing reasons and grounds for all tenets and doctrines of philosophy, and as such, they would deduce even the validity of a *pramāṇa* from other sources (परतःप्रामाण्यम्). But the process of reasoning, of adducing evidence or of deducing validity from other valid sources cannot go on *ad infinitum*. All such process must ultimately be based on some absolutely secure foundation, for the validity of which no other proof can be given and which must be recognised as self-evident and self-established from its very nature. Hence the Naiyāyikas do accept certain sources of knowledge, such as perception, inference, etc., as self-evident and self-proved, at the same time that they provide adequate safeguards for their validity by introducing the marks of conative satisfaction and true correspondence in their account of *pramāṇa*.⁸)

* यथा प्रमाणाभास इति व्यतिरेकी हेतुः । अन्वयव्यतिरेकी वागुमानस्य स्वतःप्रामाण्यतयाऽन्वयव्यापि कथ्यतात् । Vācaspati, *Tātparya-ṭīkā* ; यत् न प्रमाणं भवति तत् सम्बन्धनुभवसाधनं न भवति । यथा संज्ञादि सम्बन्धनुभवसाधनं चेदम् । तस्मात् प्रमाणासिद्धेति । *Nyāya-tātparya-dīpikā*.

⁷ उदाहरणसाधनानां साध्यसाधनं हेतुः । *Nyāya-sūtra*, xxxiv, An. 1, Ad. 1.

⁸ Cf. प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यवत् प्रमाणम् । *Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya* ; ततो कथञ्चात् प्रमाणावस्थाप-
नीतिर्विनिर्दिष्टा । ... विवादात्पूर्वं प्रमाणं सम्बन्धनुभवसाधनत्वात् । Jaysītha, *Nyāyatātparya-dīpikā*.

To deny or even to doubt the validity of such *pramāṇas* is to overthrow all proof and reasoning and to put an immovable barrier before our intellectual and practical activity. But doubt finds its limit in intellectual and practical absurdity. That is, the process of doubting must cease when and where such doubt puts an end to our intellectual and practical activity.⁹ Again to deny proof altogether is even to bar the way to its denial, for there being nothing to be denied, the very act of denial is useless and insignificant.¹⁰ (Or if the doubt be valid, i.e. if it be recognised as a source of valid denial of proof, then this means that at least the act of doubt has validity, that it is a valid source of knowledge, so that all sources of knowledge are not denied.¹¹) This is the Naiyāyika's *reductio ad absurdum* of scepticism. As a matter of fact, however, there are certain *pramāṇas* with such marks and characteristics that we can nowise doubt their validity. They are self-luminous like light which proves itself as well as the objects illuminated by it; like light they are seen by themselves and do not require something else in order to prove their existence and validity. Just as in the presence of a sounding object one cannot but perceive the existence of the object at the same time that he perceives its sound, so the source of valid knowledge is at once perceived to be valid from its very nature as the ground of true correspondence and conative satisfaction.¹²

Now a purely logical controversy arises here. It centres round the question as to the relation of *pramāṇa* to conative satisfaction (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यम्). It has been said that the validity of a *pramāṇa* is to be known from its very nature, namely, its capacity for leading to successful practice. Hence it appears

⁹ व्याघातावधिराजहेति । Śrīharṣa and Udayana

¹⁰ नैवाव्याप्तिहे प्रतिषेधात्प्रवृत्तिः । सर्वप्रमाप्रतिषेधाच्च प्रतिषेधात्प्रवृत्तिः । *Nyāya-sūtras*, xii and xiii, An. 1, Ad. 2

¹¹ तत्प्रमाणाच्च वा न सर्वप्रमाप्रतिषेधः । *Nyāya-sūtras*, xiv, An. 1, Ad. 2.

¹² नैवाव्याप्तिहेच प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यादव्याप्तिहेति । न प्रदीपप्रकाशवत् सङ्गिहे । *Nyāya-sūtras*, xv and xix, An. 1, Ad. 2.

that prior to the fruition of the conative tendencies, a *pramāṇa* cannot be ascertained to be valid, so that the validity of a *pramāṇa* is open to doubt at this stage. But the *pramāṇa* being thus an instrument of doubtful efficacy we cannot use it for the acquisition of certain knowledge of objects, and in the absence of a true knowledge of objects we cannot proceed to act in relation to them, that is, there can be no volitional process (प्रवृत्तिः) directed towards those objects. (The Naiyāyika thus seems to be placed on the horns of a dilemma. There can be no ascertainment of the validity of *pramāṇa* (प्रमाणावबोधनिश्चयः) prior to successful practice (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यम्) but there can be no action or practice (प्रवृत्तिः) without a true knowledge of the validity of *pramāṇa*.¹³) Hence it follows that, as volition and the knowledge of *pramāṇa* reciprocally presuppose each other, there can be no ascertainment of the validity of *pramāṇa*.

To the above objection, the Naiyāyikas give a twofold reply. In the first place, they point out that a true knowledge of objects is by no means the invariable cause of our action in relation to them. (It is indeed true that right and efficacious activity presupposes a right knowledge of the things, with which we have to deal in the course of our action. But it is equally true that there may be, and actually is, action even when there is no sure knowledge of objects, that we act even in the mist of uncertainty.¹⁴) To this is to be added a second consideration which is calculated to clear up the whole situation and to offer an adequate solution of the above difficulty. It is a matter of common observation that an experient subject may have a right cognition of objects through a certain source of knowledge, say perception or inference, even though he lacks a previous critical appreciation of the validity of that source.

¹³ ननु प्रवृत्तिप्रामाण्यनिश्चयोरेव परस्परपक्षतया परस्परान्यवयवम् । Vardhamāna, *Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa*

¹⁴ सन्देहान्निवृत्त्यादवबोधोत्तमप्रामाण्यात् प्रवृत्तिदर्शनात् । Vardhamāna, *Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa*.

This being so, the percipient subject will, subsequently to his cognition of objects, act in certain ways in relation to the objects. Now the success of these actions, their producing the desired result, will convince the subject of the validity of that particular source of knowledge. If in the face of these considerations any one contends that no operation or action, either intellectual or volitional, is possible without previous certain knowledge of the success of that action, then the contention itself stands self-condemned, since the contender himself is not absolutely sure of his success and *cannot therefore begin the process of contention at all.¹⁵

Next the Naiyāyikas proceed to certain epistemological considerations on the implications of *pramāṇa* and the essential factors involved in knowledge. By *pramāṇa* we are to understand the means or source of valid cognition (सम्बन्धानुभवसाधनं प्रमाणम्). As such, the very meaning of the word *pramāṇa* implies three other factors or conditions in order to a complete conception of itself. In the first place it implies that there is a subject or ego in which the cognition centres and of which it is the attribute or process. That is, in every cognition there must be an intelligent agent (प्रमाता), which is the substantive ground of the cognition and is the source of the conative processes that follow on the state of cognition. Secondly, *pramāṇa* implies some object (which may be either existent or non-existent), to which the process of cognition refers or to which it is directed. Just as there can be no cognition without a conscious subject, so there can be nothing worthy of the name of cognition unless there be an object—a thing or an attribute, a state or a process, a fact or a

¹⁵ ननु प्रामाण्यावधारकं विनाऽपि चक्षुरादिनाऽर्शेनिश्चयो भवेत् । Vardhamāna, *Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa*; इह च विविधा प्रवृत्तिः ... । ऐहिकफला लोपेक्षितोपायनाश्रयानामापीना चर्शेनिश्चयमपि नापेक्षते, प्रतीक्ष प्रामाण्यावधारणं, कुतस्तदा तदनिश्चयम् । यत्रापि प्रवृत्तेः प्रतीक्ष प्रामाण्यतत्त्वनिश्चयः तत्राऽप्यसौ सङ्गतिमुक्तादायातो न प्रवृत्तिं प्रति प्रयोजकोऽन्वयैकानिकविज्ञानानिश्चये प्रामाण्यावधारक एव विनिर्णीतः कथार्था न प्रवर्तते । तत्राद्वयानिश्चयेऽपि प्रवृत्तिरनुभववादिभिर्हं इति निश्चय सिद्धान्तमुपपन्नते । Udayana, *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-parisuddhi*.

thought—which is to be cognised. Thus subject and object are essentially necessary factors involved in every process of cognition. They are distinguishable no doubt as the knower and the known, but are separable in no act of cognition. Lastly, *pramāṇa* implies the state of valid cognition itself (प्रमा, प्रमिति:), that is, the mental state by which the object is cognised or to which *pramāṇa* leads as its result or product. Hence *pramāṇa* involves the *pramātā*, or the subject who knows, the *prameya* or the object which is known, and *pramiti* or the state of valid knowledge which is the psychic product of *pramāṇa* and in which there is the right cognition of the object.¹⁶

(We have then four factors or conditions in all acts of human knowledge, namely, a subject or *pramātā*, an object or *prameya*, the state of knowledge or *pramiti*, which is the result of the interaction between the subject and the object, and, lastly, the means of knowledge or *pramāṇa*, which is instrumental towards the production of right knowledge (प्रमायाः करणं प्रमायन्).) Each of these is as essential to the concept of knowledge as the rest, and each of them forms a necessary pre-requisite, an essential condition of knowledge. In these four factors, when taken together as one whole, but never as disjoined, the circuit of knowledge and reality completes itself.¹⁷ That is, the subject having known the real

¹⁶ ननु कथं प्रमाणादीनां प्रमाणाप्रसन्निर्यत्रिह्यैः...। व्युत्पत्तिवत्त्वादिवाचकाः। तथाहि। अनुभवतीति कर्तृव्युत्पत्त्या प्रमातुरनुभूयत इति कर्तृव्युत्पत्त्या प्रमातुरनुभूयत इति कर्तृव्युत्पत्त्या प्रमेयज्ञानभूतिरिति भावः व्युत्पत्त्याः प्रमायाश्च...। *Nyāya-tātparyā-dīpikā*; सम्बन्धनुभवः प्रमितिः।... प्रमितिः प्रमायकज्ञानिति यावत्। प्रमायत्रयः प्रमातेति। प्रामुक्त्याः प्रमाया आश्रयः। सम्बन्धविचारणं प्रमाता भवतीत्यर्थः। प्रमायित्रयः प्रमेयमिति। प्रमायां दोषैः प्रतिभाति स प्रमेयं विषयोऽर्थः इति यावत्। एतेन सद्व्यवसद्व्ययं वा न किञ्चिद्व्यापुष्टिं प्रमायित्रयं सर्वत्र प्रमेयत्वादिति। *Nyāya-sūtra* and *Nyāya-tātparyā-dīpikā*; तत्र वल्लेखानिहासप्रमुक्त्यैः प्रमितिः स प्रमाता। स प्रमेयं प्रमितिः तत् प्रमायन्। दोषैः प्रमेयते तत् प्रमेयम्। यदर्थविज्ञानं सा प्रमितिः। *Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya*; साधनायवाचनिरिह्यैः सति प्रमायात् प्रमायन्। *Sarva-darśana-samgraha*; मितिः सम्बन्धपरिनिमित्तवत्त्वात् प्रमायता। तद्वैयर्थ्यवत्त्वात् प्रमायन् गीतये नते ॥ *Udayana, Kusumājñāli*, iv, 5.

¹⁷ यतस्तु चैवविधातु तत्र परिचयमायते। *Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya, Nyāya-sūtra*.

while the other factors are the common grounds (कारणम्) and the logical implications (व्युत्पत्तिवत्सायातम्) involved in all knowledge.²⁰

(Again the primary function of knowledge lies in its correspondence to the nature and attribute of its objects (अर्थवत्त्वम्), although this correspondence is to be known from the fact that the knowledge prompts an activity ending in fruition (प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यम्).) Now for the fulfilment of this function knowledge is directly dependent on *pramāṇa*, and the other conditions of knowledge have this mark of correspondence to objects only as they derive it from *pramāṇa* itself. *Pramāṇa* is instrumental in the production of valid cognition, so that without it there can be no true cognition even if there be a subject to cognise and an object to be cognised. It is indeed true that in every act of knowledge proper, the subject, the object and the state of knowledge are all accompanied by valid cognition. (But the subject or *pramātā*, the object or *prameya*, and the process of knowledge or *pramiti* do not originate the state of valid cognition, but owe that state to the influence of *pramāṇa* which is thus seen to be the supreme condition (साधकतमम्) of knowledge.²¹)

²⁰ प्रमादप्रतीत्यवच्छेदार्थमलोक्षेदज्ञापनार्थं साधनयुक्तम् । Bhasarvajña, *Nyāya-sūtra*, *Pratyakṣa-pariccheda*; साध्यने चनेनेति कारणमिधायिना साधनपट्टेन प्रमादप्रतीत्ययोः कर्तृकर्तृयोः फलस्य च प्रमादपक्ष प्रमादार्थं व्यवस्थियते । कारणस्य साधकतमत्वात् । प्रमादादिनां चासाधकतमत्वात् । *Nyāya-tātparya-dīpikā*. Compare also साधकतमं कारणम् । Pāṇini; कारणं साधकतमम् । *Amara-kosa*.

²¹ अर्थवति च प्रमाये प्रमाता-प्रतीत्य-प्रमितिरित्यर्थवन्ति सवन्ति, कृत्वात् अन्तमापायेऽर्थेऽन्तानुपपत्तेः । *Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya on Nyāya-sūtra*; अर्थवति च समर्थे प्रमाये अर्थवन्ति समर्थानीति । अन्तमापायेः साधकतमार्थो द्रष्टव्यः प्रकरणात् प्रकरणं हि चतुर्थे प्रमाद्यं प्रधानमिति वक्ष्यते । *Udyotkara, Nyāya-vārttika*.

PĀṆINIAN STUDIES IN BENGAL.

DINESHCHANDRA BHATTĀCHARYYA, M.A.,

*Late Librarian, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi,
Professor of Sanskrit, Dacca College, Dacca.*

Bengal is well-known to have been the last refuge of the numerous minor systems of Sanskrit grammar, which during the great "Maratha" revival of Pāṇini, were gradually ousted from the different corners of India and driven to find an asylum here or became altogether extinct. The *Kalāpa*, the *Mugdhabodha*, the *Samkṣiptasāra*, the *Sārasvata* and the *Supadma* are still so extensively and assiduously studied in Bengal that it will be news even to many of her own sons that from a period long before any of these systems arose down to the first decade of the 19th century, a local school of Pāṇini's system had flourished continuously in North Bengal. The increasing popularity of the *Kalāpa* and the *Mugdhabodha* had made its condition precarious from some time past, until it finally became extinct only a few years ago. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the great works studied herein, the importance of the school will be evident from the fact that for several centuries past it was the only one of its kind probably in the whole of India that kept alive a study of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in its original form. And naturally a history of Pāṇini's system will read bare and incomplete without some account of the materials supplied by such a school.

We start our review with the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* which forms the nucleus of a group of great works, comprised in what we may call the Higher Course of Sanskrit Grammar in Bengal. A critical edition of this great work is still a desideratum. An examination of Haradatta's *Pādamāñjarī*, Jinendra's

Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā and the Bengal Manuscripts preserved in the libraries of the Rajshahi College and the Varendra Research Society, will have shown that much remains to be desired in Bālā Śāstri's edition of the work, which appeared long ago in A.D. 1876-78.¹ The *Kāśikā* is so named from its place of origin Kāśī (Benares) काशिकेति देशतोभिधानम् । (p. 4) काशिशु भवेति सारसंग्रहहृत्तिः काशिका (Ujjvala, *Unādiṣṭi*, iv. 117). In its extant form it is the work of two distinct authors.² Jayāditya (d. A.D. 661) wrote the first five chapters and Vāmana (circa A.D. 700) the rest. This division of work finds a good corroboration from the early evidence of Puruṣottamadeva, who in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti* refers separately to each author by name. The publication of the *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* has brought other remarkable facts to light. On i. 1. 5 Jinendra writes,

श्रुतः कितौत्वत्रापि जयादित्यहृत्तौ ग्रन्थः । गकारोप्यत्र चर्त्तन्मृतो निर्दिश्यते भूषुरित्वेवं यथा स्यादिति । वामनस्य त्वेतत् सर्वमनभिमतम् । तथाहि तस्यैव सूत्रस्य तद्विरचितायां हृत्तौ ग्रन्थः । केचिदत्र etc. (Vol. I, pp. 47-48).

Here Jinendra is quoting Jayāditya side by side with Vāmana on the *sūtra* vii. 2. 11. So also on iii. 1. 33 we have,

आभाष्यस्त्रीयमसिद्धत्वमनित्यम् । आनित्यत्वन्तु तस्य तत्रैव प्रतिपादयिष्यते जयादित्वेन । ... प्राग् भादसिद्धाधिकार इत्यस्य पक्षस्य जयादित्य-वामनाभ्यामनाश्रितत्वात् ॥ (Vol. I, pp. 524-525) referring to Jayāditya and Vāmana again on the same *sūtra* (vi. 4. 22). These clearly indicate that Jayāditya had himself completed his *Vṛtti* and Jinendra had access at least partly to the lost

¹ Thus under i. 1. 3, the ed. reads चर्त्तन्मृतः । चर्त्तन्मृतः । सिद्धतिः । चर्त्तन्मृतः । This long portion, which is omitted in Bengal manuscripts, seems to be an interpolation as it is not presupposed in the *Nyāsa* or *Pādamañjarī*. In i. 1. 23 the passage चर्त्तः पक्षो वेदमिति...श्रुत् righty omitted in Bengal manuscripts belongs evidently to the *Nyāsa* (Vol. I, p. 72) whence it has crept into the body of the *Kāśikā*. Under vii. 1. 1 Bālā Śāstri reads two *kārikās* beginning with 'शुचीयेत्' which has been omitted in Bengal manuscripts, in a *Kāśikāvṛtti* (V. B. S., Ma. No. 594) and are not explained by Jinendra who never omits to comment on the *kārikās*.

² Cf. also *Nyāsa* on iv. 1. 15 (Vol. I, p. 821). We cannot therefore agree with the author of the note in *J. A. S. B.*, 1912, p. 57.

portions of it. I-tsing was thus literally correct when he ascribed the *Vṛtti-sūtra* to Jayāditya alone.³ A vexed question is thus raised regarding the nature and character of Vāmana's fragmentary work, to which no direct answer is to be found in the *Nyāsa*. A reasonable inference may however be drawn from the following facts. The *Kāśikā* has been based on several earlier works including, according to Jinendra, the *Vṛttis* of Chullibhaṭṭi, Nirtūra and others.⁴ Jinendra in the body of his commentary has referred to them presumably either as पूर्वैः वृत्तिकारैः (e.g. on iv. 1. 154) or as वृत्त्यन्तरे (e.g., on ii. 1. 67). All references of Jinendra to *Vṛttikāra* without any specification are either to Jayāditya or Vāmana as the case may be.⁵ Now Jinendra commenting on Vāmana under vi. 1. 17 writes एतच्च वृत्तिकारमतेनोक्तं भाष्यकारमतेन त्वाह योगारब्ध इत्यादि । तस्यायभावः...तुभ्यद्वो वृत्तिकारमतादिशेषं दर्शयति (V. R. S., No. 1152, fol. 11a). This *Vṛttikāra* is evidently Jayāditya and we have thus a clear indication that Vāmana came after Jayāditya and based his work on the latter's *Vṛtti*. Vāmana's direct reference to a *Vṛtti* on viii. 4. 48 might similarly be referred to Jayāditya, as Jinendra there also does not specify any previous work. Vāmana's *Vṛtti* may therefore be taken to be a revised and enlarged edition of Jayāditya, much like the *Rasavali-vṛtti* of the *Samkṣiptasāra* which goes under the name of its reviser Jumarānandī. And the name *Kāśikā* should more correctly be given to this joint-work of Jayāditya

³ Takakusu's ed., p. 176 I-tsing's account is a most valuable and accurate contribution to the history of Sanskrit grammar. His note on the "three *kṛtilas*" will read as a commentary on *kāśikā*, i. 3. 2, स्वपाठो विज्ञपाठश्च । Of the works comprised therein the *Aṣṭadhātū* has been preserved in two rare quotations of Bengal grammarians—Maitreya in *Tantrapradīpa* on viii. 4. 47 and Śaraṇa in his *Durghata-vṛtti* on viii. 4. 65.

⁴ It is a significant fact that both these earlier *Vṛttikāras* have been preserved in very rare quotations of Bengal grammarians alone. Chullibhaṭṭi has been quoted by Maitreya in his *Tantrapradīpa* on viii. 3. 97 and by Jumarānandī on *Samkṣiptasāra* iii. 106. Nirtūra has been quoted by Śrīpati in *Kātantra-parīkṣā* (*Ind. Ant.*, 1917, p. 191, note). This raises a *prima facie* presumption of special connection of these authors with Bengal. Investigation is however necessary.

⁵ On iii. 1. 78, एतच्च वृत्तिकारः स्वमतेन वदति विद्वान् etc., refers to Jayāditya on vi. 4. 28 though the difference from the extant text of Vāmana is very slight indeed.

and Vāmana and not to I-tsing's *Vṛtti-sūtra*. Vāmana's reverence for Jayāditya may perhaps be inferred from his comment on vii. 2.11—**केचिदत्र द्विकारनिर्द्देशेन गकारप्रक्षेपं दर्शयन्ति । भूषुरित्येवं यथा स्नात्** etc. The interpretation Vāmana means here to refute is clearly the one of Jayāditya (see *Nyāsa* i. 1.5, cited above) but he seems to cleverly avoid the onerous work of directly criticising his great predecessor by selecting for his target a passage of **केचित्**, which, according to Jinendra, refers to the grammarians **सुभूति**, **व्याडि** and others, **केचित् सुभूति-व्याडि-प्रवृत्तयः** (V. R. S., No. 584, vii. 2, fol. 12b). But what led Vāmana to revise only the last three chapters remains yet to be explained. Vāmana being thus posterior in date to Jayāditya cannot be placed before 700 A.D., and this will tempt one to reopen the question of his identity with the *alankārīka* Vāmana, presupposed for instance by Goyicandra on *Samkṣiptasāra*, ii. 704 (वामनेन वृत्तिज्ञता कविप्रियालङ्कारे). The identity is however untenable seeing that *Kāvyaalankāra*, v. 2.86 goes directly against *Kāśikā* vi. 5.51 and vii. 3.19. The *nīmāṃsaka* Vāmana one of the traditional pupils of Kumārila,⁶ may be a more likely name for identity, at least in point of time.

The *Kāśikā* otherwise known in Bengal as the *Mahāvṛtti* has justly enjoyed a uniform popularity throughout India ever since it was written; for I-tsing who had written within thirty years of Jayāditya's death⁷ found his work already popular in India. It embodies the "essence" of all previous works on grammar (सारसंग्रह) and is complete in itself. For, to quote its own words with which it fittingly ends—

इष्टुपसंख्यानवती शुद्धगद्या विद्वतगूढसूत्रार्था ।

व्युत्पन्नरूपसिद्धिर्दृष्टिरियं काशिका नाम ॥

⁶ उत्पन्नः कारिकां वेत्ति तन्म वेत्ति प्रमाकरः ।

वाननसूत्रं वेत्ति न किञ्चिदपि वेदयः ॥

Śaṅḍarāṇasamuccaya, p. 4.

⁷ Takakusu's ed., loc. cit

“it incorporates all additional and subsidiary rules, the *ieṣṭis* and the *upasaṃkhyānas*, correctly enumerates the different groups of words (*gaṇas*), clearly explains the subtle meanings of *sūtras* and indicates the formation of words.”

The study of the *Kāśikā* in Bengal appears to have been greatly facilitated and kept alive by the *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā* of Jinendrabuddhi (9th cent. A.D.). The publication of this work by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, is going shortly to be completed in about 2000 pages. This huge work, which had long awaited publication, has at last found a worthy editor in the land of its adoption in Śāstri Śriśh Chandra Chakravarti, B.A. This work before its publication had loomed very large in the eyes of most Indian scholars, who endowed it with a somewhat hoary antiquity and built many a chronological theory based upon the same. Its publication while fulfilling our expectations regarding its intrinsic merit, will also certainly dispose of most of the chronological conjectures.

The commentary must have been written after a considerable interval of time, sufficient to introduce various readings in the text of the *Kāśikā*. Under i. 1.75 Jinendra discusses no less than five readings in a single *kārikā* (Vol. I, p. 140). On vii. 3.4 he similarly discusses four readings in a single example—*प्रायेच पुस्तके द्वारपालस्वेदं दीवारपालिकमिति पाठः । स चाशुक्तः ...कचित् पुनर्द्वारपालस्यापत्वं दीवारपालिकमिति पाठः* etc. (V. R. S., No. 601, fol. 3). Moreover we have clear evidence that before Jinendra there had been more commentators than one on the *Kāśikā* itself. On i. 1.1 (pp. 34-35) Jinendra quotes and refutes one with the remark *न च इति व्याख्यातुमुद्यतस्य तद्विरुद्धं व्याख्यानं युज्यते कर्तुम्*, clearly referring to an earlier commentator of the *Ṛtti*. Further on in the same *sūtra* (pp. 38-39) he refers to at least two earlier commentators explaining in different ways the propriety of an example given in the *Kāśikā*. Under vii 1.6 we have *इति केचिद्व्याचक्षते । एतच्चाम्बन्व . . तस्मादप्यव्याख्यानमेतत् इत्यव्यया व्याख्यायते* (V. R. S., No. 601,

fol. 7). Jinendra cannot therefore be referred to any date earlier than A.D. 800, i.e. at least a century after the time of Vāmana. This will easily dismiss all question of his alleged citation by Māgha (ii. 112) and Bhāmaha, which have been the subject of longdrawn controversies among scholars.⁸ Māgha flourished early in the 7th cent. A.D. if not earlier⁹ and Bhāmaha flourished at least before his commentator Udbhata (who lived under Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir circa A.D. 800), author of the *Bhāmahavivaraṇam*. Both of them therefore long preceded Jinendra.

Kielhorn has concluded his brilliant study of the *Mahābhāṣya* with the regret that "it is disappointing that we do not learn from it more regarding the history of Indian grammar."¹⁰ But had he lived to search for historical matter through the 2000 pages of our present work he might have regretted still more. Jinendra in writing his commentary had apparently laid all the accumulated grammatical lore of his age under contribution (सर्वतः सारमादाय). But except some half-a-dozen independent quotations¹¹ and as many references to previous authors,¹² he nowhere acknowledged his borrowings except from the "three Munis." His veiled indebtedness to one or two specific works however we may cull from the writings of later authors. Maitreya on iv. 1. 63 writes यथा सुखनासिकावचन इति व्यासः (Vol. I, p. 861) अनुपदकारादिभिरस्यापि पक्षस्तत्राश्रितत्वात्।

⁸ See especially Pāthak in *J A S* (Bom. Br.), XXIII, pp. 18 ff., *Ind Ant*, 1912, pp. 232 ff., Trivedi in *ibid*, 1913

⁹ *Ind Ant.*, 1917, pp 191-2.

¹⁰ *Ind Ant.*, 1887, p. 106.

¹¹ प्राप्ते कस्याचनानावैती तिष्ठपुनर्वत् । (ii. 1. 17); आत्मा वृत्त्या सनेत्याद्यान् मनो वृत्तौ विवचनम् । (ii. 2. 6); भीषः कुर्वन् भवतीकृष्टार्त्ता । (ii. 2. 16); विज्ञं पापमनार्जवम् । (from a lexicon, iii. 1. 14); कालो हरिश्च इव प्रजानाम् । (iii. 2. 174); जातिरियं किङ्करी (iii. 2. 21).

¹² नैवाधिकाः (iii. 2. 117); नैवाधिकां (v. 1. 1), सीताहरश्चाख्यम् (ii 1. 15); नैवाधिकाः (vi. 1 8); तथा आहिविज्ञास्थिर्वा (vii 1 18) Besides on vii. 1. 18 he preserves for us the actual *sūtra* of the pre-Pāṇinian grammarians—नेह व्याकरणे श्रीकारस्य उक्तारोऽनुवन्त उपदीयते। पूर्वोपाध्यायान् तु ये हे चक्षेते विवचने छिन्ती पठेते। तथाहि "बी बी टो डीङ्" इति तत्र स्वपाठः । (V. R. S., No. 601, fol. 17) Compare *Mahābhāṣya*; also Goldsticker, *Pāṇini*, p. 189.

अथनु व्यासकृतत्र कार्थसाधनमिव वचनमाश्रितवान् । (R. Coll., No. 158, fol. 35b). This makes the unknown author of a work named *Anupadam*, quoted also elsewhere by Maitreya (iii. 1.22, iii. 2.128 and vii. 4.1) and Kramadīśvara (i. 215) anterior to Jinendra.¹³ Puruṣottamadeva in his *Lalitaparibhāṣā* (R. Coll., No. 82, fol. 20b) gives the credit of drawing the *paribhāṣa* (ताच्छौलिके षेऽप्यनृतकतं कार्यम्भवति) from vi. 4.172 to one Śrutapāla (कार्थसाच्छौल इत्यथ श्रुतपालेन ज्ञापितो ज्ञायमर्थः) knowing fully well that both Jinendra (Vol. I, p. 820) and Vāmana admit the same. This seems to indicate that Śrutapāla preceded both Jinendra and Vāmana. But Jinendra's work may unhesitatingly be regarded as a model for all faithful commentaries. Without for once yielding to the temptation of learned digressions, he has explained and reconciled in a style reminding us of the *Mahābhāṣya*, every passage of the *Kāśikā*. It is said Jinendra had to break this fidelity only once in his huge work in his comment on vii. 1.2, where for the first time he declares a passage to be spurious; a commentator on Jinendra records this fact in a beautiful couplet:

भासादिचिन्ता चिन्तैव व्यासकृच्चिन्त्यमित्यवक् ।

यस्माद्भासाकारकासारराजहंसी समानधीः ॥^{13a}

An examination of the famous *Pādamañjarī* will show to what a large extent, in spite of his big boast, Haradatta¹⁴ has been indebted to Jinendra though he does not seem to have named him more than once (iv. 1. 22).

Jinendra's work is commonly known as the *Nyāsa*. His name seems to have originated with reference to a certain class of grammarians of Pāṇini's school quoted once by Jinendra himself under vi. 1. 3. While explaining the *vārttika* यकारपरस्व

¹³ May this be the work alluded to in Magha's famous passage (ii 112) ?

^{13a} V. R. S., No. 601, fol 5a margin.

¹⁴ Haradatta is a comparatively late author and cannot be placed before the 12th cent. A.D., having been quoted for the first time only in the *Puruṣakāra*, a work of the 18th cent. A.D.

etc., Jinendra writes: वक्तव्यम् व्याख्येयमित्यर्थः। तत्र केचिदेवं व्याख्यायते...। नैयासिकानां च ग्यथा वर्णयन्ति etc. (V.R.S., No. 1152, fol. 5b). Maitreya also refers to them in his *Tantrapradīpa* under vii. 1. 12, केचिदिति (*Kāśikā*), सूत्रकारमतानुसारेण इति। यत्तद्वक्तव्यमिव दृश्यते। न हि भाष्यकारमतमनादृत्य सूत्रकारस्य कश्चनाभिप्रायो वर्णयितुं युज्यते। .. यद्यप्येवं तथापि नैयासिकैः दृष्टव्यं सूत्रकारस्य केचिदभिप्रायो वर्णयते इति तस्मत्तेनोक्तम् ॥ (V. R. S., No. 1161, fol. 12b). The word नैयासिक is derived from न्यास occurring in *ukthādigāṇa* iv. 2. 60, where like other words of the group it presumably does not refer to any particular work, but means the (inviolable) textual collocation of the *sūtras*, as will be clear from passages of the *Mahābhāṣya*, e.g. on vii. 3. 53, when read with Kaiyaṣa and Maitreya. Some have recourse to न्यासभेद or twisting of their construction but the Naiyāsikas explain things without violating their integrity (यथान्यासम्). Their peculiarity seems to consist in their great reverence for Pāṇini (*Nyāsa*, p. 33), by extending the scope of whose *sūtras*, they seek to explain away all the *vārttikas*. Jinendra who has carefully explained the *vārttikas* in that manner has proved himself to be a scrupulous Naiyāsika. All the *vaktavyas* and *upasaṃkhyānas* of Kātyāyana are dealt with in a like manner by Jinendra: वक्तव्यं व्याख्येयमित्यर्थः। तत्रेदं व्याख्यानम् etc.: उपसंख्यानशब्दस्यैव प्रतिपादनमर्थः तत्रेदं प्रतिपादनम् etc. Jinendra's work itself came in became synonymous with *pañjikā* on any (grammatical) *ṛtti* (न्यासः पञ्जिका। नैयासिकः।)¹⁵

Though the *Nyāsa* has been more or less a book of Indian fame it was specially the one great grammatical treatise of Bengal, preferred even to the *Mahābhāṣya*, whose study had been in decay already in Maitreya's time.¹⁶ For Śṛṣṭidhara the commentator on the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* who seems to have known the *Mahābhāṣya* only in quotations, betrayed his ignorance by ascribing the line अथ शब्दानुशासनम् to Pāṇini, while his

¹⁵ *Gaṅgaratnamahodadhī*, Eggeling's ed., p 345

¹⁶ In the *Tantrapradīpa* viii. 3. 43 we read इह त्वे वाच्योपसङ्गमिति तत्रेदानीं उपसङ्गो ज्ञानव्यवहारीय पदानां विवृतमिति तन्नामकस्यादुष्टं शोधयितव्यम्.

appeal to his readers clearly indicated the liveliness and assiduity of studies on the *Nyāsa* in his days :

न्यासग्रन्थार्थतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनग्रन्थलिभिः ।

बोधोयं करुणावद्भिः कृतिभिर्मे परिचयः ॥

(Introduction to *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, pp. 11-12.)

We come to the same conclusion for more recent times as well from the fact that while portions of the *Nyāsa*¹⁷ including obviously those relating to the Veda, are altogether unknown in Bengal, quite a large number of manuscripts of the remaining portions are easily available and have been collected and preserved at Rajshahi. Moreover, except a solitary *Nyāsodyota*—unknown in Bengal and quoted by Sāyaṇa (in *Dhātuvṛtti*) and Mallinātha (on *Kirāta*., ii. 17)—all the ancient and modern commentaries on the *Nyāsa* hail from Bengal. The *Anuṇyāsa*, the *Tantrapradīpa*, the *Nyāsoddīpana* by Nandana Nyāyavāgiśa and a commentary by one variously called Mānaśarmā, Śrīmānaśarmā or Śrīmān Upādhyāya, have been preserved in quotations notably in works on the most flourishing system, *Kalāpa*, which have quoted extensively from the *Nyāsa* and its commentators, the latter sometimes under the flattering epithet *Naiyāsikas*. Taking all this along with the fact that in the 9th cent. A.D. Bengal under the early Pāla Kings was the last resting place of Buddhism in India, the *Bodhisattva*-like Jinendrabuddhi may be looked upon either as a native of Bengal or one who had lived and worked long in that province.

We have now to refer to a number of great works, all of which have unfortunately been lost.¹ The earliest and the most important of them all is the lost *Bhāgavṛtti* (circa A.D. 900).² This work has been ascribed to Bhartṛhari by Śāstri

¹⁷ We have it on the authority of the late Pīṭāmbar Tarkālaṅkāra of Nator, Rajshahi, the last exponent of the Bengal School of Pāṇini (d. A. D. 1916), that besides the Vedic portions, the following sections were never systematically studied in the *toles*, viz., i. 1 (popularly known as the पदसूत्र), the तद्धित portions of iv and v and viii. 2 (humorously called the दुर्लभपाद).

Śrīś Chandra Chakravarti¹⁸ evidently on the authority of Śrīṣṭidhara,¹⁹ which however is open to doubt. The author of the work is really yet unknown, but he certainly comes after Māgha, whom he quotes.²⁰ Moreover the author is himself found explaining the words of Bhartṛhari in Siradeva's *Paribhāṣā-vṛtti*, भर्तृहरिश्च तूक्तं यः प्रातिपदिकान्तो नकारो न भवति तदर्थं शुभप्रदं प्राप्तिरिति । ... कथमिह खल्विति न व्यक्तीकृतमिति भागवत्तिलकतोक्तम् etc.²¹ This makes it impossible to identify the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* with Bhartṛhari. The work was evidently meant to be a rival of the *Kāśikā*, whose interpretation it has sought to question almost at every step.²² This fact has been noticed by Rāyamukūṭa the celebrated commentator on Amara who thus comments on the word पाण्डुर; नग-पाण्ड-पाण्डुभ्यो रः । अस्यानार्थत्वात् पाण्डुरोऽसाधुरिति भागवत्तिलकतो दुर्गमं जयादिष्वं प्रति वाच्यमात्रजनितम् (V. R. S., No. 650, fol. 43b). In the *Bhāgavṛtti* moreover we get a glimpse into the tendencies of his age. The decay of Vedic studies that produced a *bhāṣāsūtrakāra*, Candragomin, seems to have attacked even the holy *Aṣṭādhyāyī* for the first time in this work, which derives its name from a most unorthodox division of Pāṇini's work into two separate parts (भाग) of Vedic and classical *sūtras*.²³ The work has been after the *Kāśikā* the

¹⁸ Introduction to *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, p. 2.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 10

²⁰ जिह्वचयति पाठ इति भागवतिः, *Durgatavṛtti* on viii 2 36 Also इति माघे व्यवहितप्रयोगः प्रवादः इति भागवतिः, *Upādavṛtti* on ii 109

²¹ P. 12 Compare Goyicandra on i. 328, भर्तृहरिखल्वतिसिद्धदाहरश्च भागवत्तिलकतावृत्तम्. We must not lose the force of these quotations which indicate that Bhartṛhari had written a complete commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* and not on the "three *padas*" alone (Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, 1883) Here we get a quotation from his Commentary on viii. 4. 11 Maitreya quotes him on viii 3 21 (भर्तृहरिश्च च निवार्थतेवासोक्ता तथा च भागवत्तिलकारिश्च प्रमुदाहरश्चतुपञ्चसम्); and again on viii 3 29 (भर्तृहरौ तु न खल्वुक्तमित्यादिन क्लीङ्कादिवैवानुवृत्तिः पदयद्वयस्य दृष्टिता). Puruṣottamadeva quotes him under iii 1 6 (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, p. 114) There are a few more quotations in Goyicandra and Śrīpati.

²² See the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* under ii. 474, iv. 2. 38, iv. 3 23, v. 1. 232, v. 2. 13, vi. 3. 85; vi. 3. 187, vii. 3 75.

²³ See Goyicandra on i. 190; चत एव भागवती भाषाभावे नास्तेतत्; also on ii. 829 कटुकावची दुर्गमेव विहितमिति भाषाभाषादभिधेयमित्यस्य, चत एव भाषाभावे भागवत्तिलक भाषावत्तिलकारश्च कटुकावची-विभागवत्तिलकं न विहितम्.

most popular work in Bengal. Maitreya quotes from it frequently in his *Tantrapradīpa*; Puruṣottamadeva wrote his *Bhāṣāvṛtti* professedly on its basis:

काशिकाभागवत्सोचेत् सिद्धान्तं बोद्धुमस्ति धीः ।

तदा विचिन्त्यतां भ्रातर्भाषावृत्तिरिव मम ॥²⁴

Śaraṇa's *Durghatāvṛtti* contains about 30 quotations from it. Even so late an author as Goyicandra (circa A.D. 1400) gives no less than 40 independent quotations from the work. All these against a few second-hand quotations in the *Mādhaviya* and a solitary one as far as we know in the *Pāḍamañjarī* direct us clearly enough where to look for its place of origin. The *Bhāgavṛtti*'s attacks on the *Kāśikā* are entirely missed in the *Nyāsa*, which probably preceded it. A corrupt passage of the *Durghatāvṛtti* (p. 34) seems indeed to direct the *Bhāgavṛtti* against a word of the *Nyāsa*. On the other hand Maitreya in his *Tantrapradīpa* on viii. 1.12 seems by his manner to indicate that the author of *Bhāgavṛtti* preceded Kaiyyāta. The date of the *Bhāgavṛtti* may thus be tentatively put down as circa A.D. 900. A study of its attacks on the *Kāśikā* leads us to believe that the author enlists himself as a staunch follower of the *Mahābhāṣya*; for the objections are mostly on the score of *अनावृत्त्य* or *भाषाविरुद्धत्व*.²⁵

Early in the 11th cent. (circa A.D. 1000-1050) three great grammarians flourished in Bengal—Govardhana, Dāmodarasena and Indumitra. Their authority and influence induced Rāyamukūṭa to express his great reverence for them by the epithet *परायण-परायणैः*.²⁶ Govardhana's *Uṇādivṛtti* alone is known in quotations. He has had the supreme honour of lending his name to an illustration of Puruṣottamadeva

²⁴ *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, p. 578.

²⁵ Vide Goyicandra on ii. 143, ii. 809, vi. 322 etc.; also Maitreya on vii. 1. 61, viii. 3. 42 etc.

²⁶ *परायण-परायणैः* गोवर्धन-दामोदर-पुण्डरीकनादिभिः etc. (on *Amara* i. 1. 1. 10).

(उपमोर्वहनं शाब्दिका).²⁷ Damodarasena is the author of a work *Upādhyāyasarvasvam* (abbreviated to *Sarvasvam*).²⁸ The work appears to be a large grammatical *nibandha* extensively quoted among others by Śṛṣṭidhara. On V. 1.100 the latter discusses and decides the orthography of the *sūtra* on the authority of the *Upādhyāyasarvasvam* with the interesting remark, तथा च इह मूर्धन्यान्त एव दामोदरसेनस्य शाब्दिकसिंहत्वात्. Maitreya quotes the *Sarvasvam* once in his *Dhātupradīpa* (सर्वस्वे तु कुञ्ज शब्दे इति, p. 124). Then comes Indumitra, author of the *Anuṅyāsa* which is evidently a commentary on the *Nyāsa*. He also has been frequently quoted by Bengal grammarians notably Puruṣottamadeva (in his *Lalitaparibhāṣā*),²⁹ Śaraṇa and Siradeva.³⁰ His relation with Maitreya Rakṣita is evident from the following interesting passage of Siradeva (p. 79): एतस्मिन् वाक्ये इन्दुमित्रमैत्रेययोः शाब्दिको विरोधः तथाहि प्रत्ययसूत्रेऽनुन्यासकार उक्तवान्..... । मैत्रेयः पुनराह... ।³¹ So Indumitra seems to have been an elderly contemporary of Maitreya who succeeded evidently in excelling and superseding him in the *Tantrapradīpa*. For though Maitreya has nowhere quoted Indumitra directly, his veiled attacks on the latter's interpretations have sometimes been laid bare by later commentators. Thus commenting on the *Tantrapradīpa* under i. 2. 1 one writes इहेद् ग्रहणाभावे इन्दुना प्रापकमुक्तं तदुपयोजन—आदिभूतोऽपौत्यादि.³²

Maitreya Rakṣita (circa A.D. 1050-1100) is perhaps the only mediæval grammarian whose name has been the subject of grammatical analysis, Ujjvaladatta in his *Uṇādvṛtti* (i. 38) writes मित्रमुलीकयान्नाभिष्टः । तच्चापत्यमित्यत्रार्थे शब्दादित्वाद् ठकि ... बुध्दलोपः—मैत्रेयो रक्षितः।³³ Some of the Mss. of his *Tantrapradīpa*

²⁷ *Bhūṣāvṛtti* i. 487.

²⁸ एतद्विषयाच्च सर्वत्र दामोदरीमोक्षम्, Sarvaṇanda, *Tikāṣarvasvam*, Pt II, p. 197.

²⁹ B. Coll., No. 82, fol. 4a, 22b, 27b.

³⁰ एतच्च ग्रन्थानुशासने व्यासकृता व्याख्यानम् । अत्र तत्र स्वमतिनिष्ठम् प्रत्ययसूत्रानुशासकारो व्यासकृत...तदुक्तम्, p. 5.

³¹ Compare also p. 28.

³² V B S., No. 489, fol. 2a, marginal note.

³³ Jivānanda's ed., p. 18; also V. B. S., No. 407, fol. 7b.

preserved at Rajshahi have the following colophon: इति महीषाध्यायमैत्रेयश्चौरचितविरचिते तन्त्रप्रदीपे etc.¹⁴ We have therefore to conclude that Maitreya was his title and Rakṣita his real name and thus we are led to a very fair presumption that here we have got evidence of a grammarian of purely Bengali origin, for the title *Maitreya* while unknown elsewhere in India is still well known in Bengal as that of a clan of *Varendra Brāhmaṇas*. Some of the scribes indeed leave us in no doubt, as they quote him sometimes in the modern reverse order as रचित-मैत्रेयः, and sometimes even corrupted as रचित-मैत्रेय¹⁵ His reputation in India rests on his work on the verbal roots—the *Dhātupradīpa* which has been recently published by the Varendra Research Society under the editorship of Śāstri Śriś Chandra Chakravarti, B.A. This famous work has enjoyed a pan-Indian popularity, is quoted with the greatest deference in the *Puruṣakara* and the *Mādhavīya* and while superseded by the works of Sāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭoji and others in other parts of India, was till lately studied in North Bengal as the only authoritative work on the subject. But in Bengal Maitreya is better known by his masterpiece, the *Tantrapradīpa* which is a large critique on the *Vṛtti* and the *Nyāsa*.¹⁶ This great work seems to be unknown elsewhere in India, like all other works of the *Nyāsa* group, for it is doubtful if a single independent quotation from it can be traced in the works of Sāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭoji and others. The fragments preserved at Rajshahi go to make up more than half the entire work which sufficiently vouch for him as one of the greatest grammarians of India and one of the very few who have cleverly manipulated the labyrinth of *jñāpakas* and *paribhāṣās*. The work has long survived its rival, the *Anun्यāsa* of Indumitra and had several commentaries to its credit, of

¹⁴ V R S., Nos 620 and 1101. R Coll., No 153

¹⁵ V R S., No 1150, fol 7b of *Nyāsa*, vi 1 (margin), and Śiṣṭadhara on iii 1 (R. Coll., No. 80, fol. 6a)

¹⁶ इतिमासं समुद्दिश्य कृतवान् यन्त्रविरचम् ।* नाम्ना तन्त्रप्रदीपं यो विदितवान् धानवः ॥
Dhātupradīpa, p 154

which the *Tantrapradipa-prabhā* by Sanātana Tarkācārya the *Trantrapradipoddipana* by Nandana Nyāyavāgiśa and a *Trantrapradipāloka* are preserved in marginal quotations or fragments. Maitreya has been revered especially for his subtle reasoning by which he frequently takes even the *Nyāsakāra* to task.³⁷ Siradeva in his *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* has taken pains to shield him from the attacks of his vilifiers who are unable to dive into the depths of his subtleties, चन्द्रे त्वाङ्गुरिह दुरवगमो मैत्रेयाभिप्रायः । न केवलमिहैवापि त्वन्यत्रापि (p. 111). Siradeva's own remarks, which prove him to be a staunch follower of Maitreya are तस्माद्विद्वद्भ्यो रक्षितः । बोद्धव्याच्च विस्तरा एव रक्षितयन्त्रा विद्यन्ते ॥ (p. 95). Unlike Jinendra, Maitreya has mostly acknowledged his borrowings from his numerous predecessors.³⁸ His work therefore makes a valuable study on the history of grammar, as a few specimens will suffice to show. On vii. 3. 86 he preserves two otherwise unknown *sūtras* of the pre-Pāṇinian grammarian, Āpiśali—आपिशलिसु शब्-विकारस्य गुण इत्यभिधाय “करोति मिदञ्च” इत्युक्तवान् । तस्य करोतिमन्तरस्य प्रत्यये गुणो नास्त्वेष.³⁹ In the work, again, we get the earliest mention of a system of grammar ascribed to one Kṣapanaka one of whose *sūtras* he has preserved for us under iii. 3 तथा अपञ्चकस्याकारस्य सूत्रं “न लुङ् लुङ्लिटः क्रियाविस्थितिसामीप्ययोः” इति.⁴⁰ Among altogether new names occurs Udayakara (under vii. 4. 1 and 23), a name by which the famous Udayanācārya is also known. Under vii. 4.23 he quotes from one⁴¹ if as also known. Svāmīn who with the distinctive honorific adjuncts to

³⁷ e.g. under i. 2. 2 he remarks प्रौढवादितया चेन्न, under vii. 4. 53 he writes चयञ्च स्फुटमेव भाष्येण विवक्षते । ... तस्मादन्वहिनिकाराणां सतत्त्वं व्यासकारस्य सिद्धिमिति लक्ष्यते ॥ Besides remarks like स तु व्यासो ज्ञाते . . स तु प्रसादः (i. 3. 15, 17, 20 etc.) and तस्मात् प्रसादपाठोऽयं कश्चित् समर्थनीयः (vii. 2. 90), all referring to the *Nyāsa* are to be met with frequently.

³⁸ Vide Introduction to the *Dhātupradīpa*

³⁹ Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, 1887, p. 102, note 7, gives all that was then known about Āpiśali. Grammarians of the *Kāṭya* system have preserved quite a number of quotations mostly in *Lāriṭā* of the *Āpiśaliyas* which may throw some light on this ancient system.

⁴⁰ See also under iv. 1. 135, n. 3. 54.

We next come to the great name of Puruṣottamadeva (circa A.D. 1100-1150) who wrote the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* on the basis of the *Kāśikā* and the *Bhāgaṣṛti*.⁴⁵ The latter work was finally superseded by him. The work has been successful in inaugurating what we may call a Lower Course of Sanskrit Grammar and was till very recently extensively studied in North Bengal. We must not however misjudge its worth on that account. In conciseness it stands unrivalled in the domain of Sanskrit grammar. It also stands unrivalled as a text-book for initiating students into the intricacies of Classical Sanskrit in a plain and simple way. Nor is it devoid of originality. Under v. 1. 115 it boldly gives an extended meaning to the *sūtra*. Another notable feature is its wealth of apt illustration and quotations numbering more than 400 including a few extremely rare ones. It has moreover handed

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down in a unique quotation a reference to the oldest *ṛtti* on Pāṇini—the *Mathurī Ṽṛtti*.⁶⁶ From this we learn of quite a marvellous interpretation, disallowing among others the *ekabāṣu* altogether.

Puruṣottamadeva was a prolific writer. Besides his masterpiece the *Bhāṣāṛtti*, he had written a *paribhāṣāṛtti* called the *Lalitaparibhāṣā* (Mss. at Rajshahi), a *Jñāpaka sāmuccaya* (Aufrecht, *Oxford Cat.*) quoted by Śaraṇa, and an *Unādiṛtti* quoted by *Ujjvala*. In a curious work named *Bhāṣāvyākhyāprapañca* (V.R.S., No. 649) we read the following reference न च कुण्डलीव्याख्याने कृतबहुगोमङ्गलस्यापि पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य काव्यमसिद्धिरिति वाच्यम् etc. (fol. 2) showing that our author wrote a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*, which, as far as preserved, is characterised by simplicity of manner and an avoidance of all polemical discussions, and leads us sufficiently to believe in the tradition of his “attaining salvation” mentioned in the same curious work quoted above: अनिरूपणीये ब्रह्मणि निरूपयार्थं प्रवृत्तस्य पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्यान कैवल्यप्राप्तिः (fol. 95). His date easily works out to be the first half of the 12th cent. A.D. having been quoted by Sarvānanda (Pt. iii, p. 65) and Śaraṇa.

His *Bhāṣāṛtti* has a popular commentary written by Śrīṣṭidhara known among pandits as Śarmā (circa A.D. 1500). He mentions a previous commentator named Bhāskara Miśra (on ii. 1.57 and ii. 2.29). Śrīṣṭidhara took pains to lay under contribution the whole grammatical literature current in his days in Bengal. His commentary is therefore replete with valuable quotations from previous authors. We need only refer to one of the oldest of them, named Keśava, whose *Ṽṛtti* on Pāṇini⁶⁷ has been *seventeen* times quoted by Śrīṣṭidhara

⁶⁶ This *Ṽṛtti* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* on iv 3. 10 नापुन्यं इती च निरूपयन्मपादमनुवर्तते, i 3. 57 (p. 25)

⁶⁷ Maitreya also has reverence for this ancient work, which may have even preceded the *Kaśikā* as is evident from his referring to it under the venerable title of *Maitreya*, कैवल्यप्राप्ते “च निरूपयन्निदिधिव्यङ्गीनां वा” इत्येव दर्शनात् (i. 2. 6, also on i. 4. 55).

independently.⁴⁶ It is also quoted in the *Bhāṣāvr̥tti*. Śrīṣṭidhara quotes from the *Supadma* with deference, while a Ms. of his work (V.R.S., No. 395) is dated Śaka 1600. We therefore place him tentatively about A.D. 1500.

Śaraṇadeva author of the *Durghaṭavṛtti* is the next great writer whose work is a veritable store-house of quotations from all previous grammarians, for all of whom its recorded date (A.D. 1172) forms a sure *terminus ad quem*. His wonderful mastery over both the *संज्ञ* and *संज्ञ*, the grammar and the literature of his age is displayed on every page of his book. He seems to have based his work on two similar works of Maitreya and Puruṣottamadeva. Ujjvala in his *Unādir̥tti* (ii. 57, iii. 160 and iv. 1) says, *अदिकारादिति डीवः त्र्ययमित्यापि भवति इति दुर्वटे रचितः* and Sarvānanda in his *Tikāsarvasva* (Pt. II, p. 277) remarks *पुरषोत्तमदेवेन गुर्विचीत्वस्य दुर्वटे साधुत्वमुक्तम्*. The quotations in Śaraṇa's work from Puruṣottamadeva (pp. 19, 27, 35, 43 and 71) which cannot be traced to the latter's *Bhāṣāvr̥tti* will have to be referred to this lost work on *Durghaṭa*. Śaraṇa proves himself to be intimately related in time and place to Puruṣottamadeva whom he has extensively quoted, though he lived within a quarter of a century from his time.

To the 13th cent. A.D. we may refer the two remaining worthies of the Bengal school, viz. Ujjvaladatta and Siradeva, both of whom quote from Puruṣottamadeva and are quoted in the *Mādhavīya* (e.g. Ujjvala and Siradeva on *सुतभादि*) Ujjvala's *Unādir̥tti* has superseded all previous works on the subject including those of Govardhana and Puruṣottamadeva. His quotations from the "Amaratīkākāra" (on ii, 4, iii. 6 and iv. 125) can be traced to Sarvānanda. Siradeva's *Paribhāṣāvr̥tti* enjoyed a pan-Indian popularity, and was regarded as the only authoritative work on the subject until the time of the great

⁴⁶ From Śrīṣṭidhara's references we learn that Keśava had preserved an altogether new *vārttika* on 1 4 52, *जा-अन्ता-अन्तामपि*, and read in. 1 11 as two separate *sūtras* *कश्चि* and *सन्धि* ।

Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. He has shown a wonderful skill in the treatment of abstruse grammatical problems (कठिना), where he generally sides with Maitreya Rākṣita. A fragment of a commentary on his work by Govinda Śarmā has been preserved at Rajshahi (V.R.S., No. 1156).

The subsequent history of the school is not brightened by any work of originality or constructive genius and consists merely of a continuous study of the famous works of the older writers. This is evidenced by the narrow local interest of the works of Sṛṣṭidhara, Sanātana and Nandana. The continuity and ardour of this study seems to have guarded it not only against the "foreign" inroads of the "Maratha" revival, but also, to some extent, against the "neighbouring" inroads of the *Nyāya* school of Navadvīpa, whose influence is characteristically small in North Bengal. The decay in constructive development is, however, more or less co-eval with the rise of the minor systems of grammar in Bengal—notably the *Kalāpa* and the *Samkṣiptasāra* both of which in their early career were vastly influenced by the Pāṇinian school. As a matter of fact, before the rise of the all-powerful and all-obstructive *Naiyāyikas*, the two greatest grammarians of whom Bengal may justly be proud—Goyicandra of the *Samkṣiptasāra* and Vidyāsāgara of the *Kalāpa*—were indebted much more to the Pāṇinian school of Bengal than to the respective systems to which they belonged.

The foregoing brief sketch of the Bengal development of the school of Pāṇini, the real history of which may be said to cover the period from Jinendra (A.D. 800) to Puruṣottamadeva (A.D. 1150) makes the conclusion irresistible, and that even more strongly when we mark its special connection with "Varendra," that it really forms but a chapter in the glorious history of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The political supremacy achieved by the early Pāla kings of Bengal over the other kingdoms of Northern India was presumably concurrent with a general revival of culture in that province in all the

departments of art and science. The period, for instance, witnessed the rise in Bengal of a new school of sculpture and architecture, founded by Dhīmān and his son Viṭpāla, who, according to Tārānātha, flourished during the reign of Dharmapāla and Devapāla.⁴⁹

In literature moreover, we have the important testimony of the great poet Rājasekhara⁵⁰ to show that while all other provinces of India were more or less converted to “Prākṛita” influence, the province of Gauḍa, which in olden time gave its name to a separate literary style, was the only place in his days where a study of “pure Sanskrit” was pursued. Traces of this literary revival are not difficult to find in the preserved anthologies. But we have fortunately got a complete specimen of this lost literature in the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandi. If elaborate ornamentation be regarded as the characteristics of the “Vārendra school” in its art, it is even more so in its literature as displayed in this one of the greatest *śleṣakāvya*s of India. The swan-songs of this Muse of Bengal we hear in the lyrics of the “five jewels” of the court of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena⁵¹ the last independent Hindu ruler of Bengal. The final credit, however, of sheltering and fostering the study of pure Sanskrit belongs to the great grammarians of Bengal, who appear to have kept alive the study of the orthodox system at a time when Pāṇini seems to have been very much in neglect everywhere else in India. For during the period under

⁴⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV

⁵⁰ गीर्वाणः संस्कृतस्याः परिचितवचयः प्राकृते जाटदेश्याः

सापक्षप्रवीणाः सकलनक्षत्रभट्टभाट्टादिकाश्च ।

आवन्त्याः पारिवानाः सह दक्षपुरजैर्भूतमात्रा भजने

यो मन्त्रे मन्त्रदीर्घं निबधति स कविः सर्वमात्राविद्वजः ॥ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 51.

Compare also

पठन्ति संस्कृतं सुदृ. कुब्जाः प्राकृतवाचि ते ।

वाङ्मयरीतः पूर्वेषु ते केचिन्मन्त्रादयः ॥ p. 38

⁵¹ गीर्वाणश्च शरयो जयदीप उमापतिः ।

कविगणेश रत्नानि समिती लक्ष्मणश्च ॥

The *Kavyāja* is Dhoyī, the author of *Paṇmadātum*

review, we hardly meet with any great name in grammar outside Bengal, excepting that of the famous Kaiyyāṭa, whose place of origin is, however, still unknown. It is therefore no exaggeration to conclude that this school of grammarians adds a new lustre to the glories of the Pāla period, which may thus be regarded as the period of all round national regeneration in Bengal.

ON SOME ICONOGRAPHIC PARALLELS.

O. C. GANGOLY; M.A., B.L.,

Vice-President, Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

In connection with the indigenous snake-cults of Bengal, Rai Saheb Dines Chandra Sen¹ first drew attention to the discovery of the cult of the Snake-goddess in Crete, first made by Sir Arthur Evans in 1903. Dr. Coomaraswamy in the course of a very valuable article "On some Ancient Elements in Indian Decorative Art"² demonstrated the analogy by means of two interesting drawings (figs. 8 and 9) one of which was a nineteenth century brass image of Manasā Devi (from the collection of Mr. E. S. W. Russell of Calcutta), which is so like the Cretan Sun-goddess that "no one could have been surprised if that very figure had been found in Crete itself. The pose is nearly identical, and the flounced skirt is no less suggestive of ancient Crete." It is almost impossible to explain the analogy, if not the extreme similarity amounting almost is identity, of forms of the two cult images one coming from the valley of the Ganges and the other from the shores of the Mediterranean unless we hypothecate that the ancient world of 1000 B. C. "must have been knit together by common modes of thought and expression". And the survival of a very early form dating perhaps from 1800 to 1600 B. C. in a nineteenth century brass image could only have been due to an extreme conservatism of attachment to the archaic type on the part of the votaries of the icon and its makers. The Snake-goddess is supposed to be the earliest conception of the Divine Spirit

¹ *History of Bengal Literature* (1911), p. 251.

² *Orientalische Zeitschrift*, Vol. II, pp. 383-392.

in Ægean Religion, and was the essential part of the Cretan faith. The conception of the "great Mother" as the original of the world is shared by many early forms of beliefs and one of the earliest forms of such belief no doubt existed in Crete in the three well known forms of the Snake-goddess the Dove-goddess and the "Lady of the wild creatures", the attributes of the one very often absorbing those of the others. The "great mother" was later on identified with Bhea, the mother of Vesta, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon and Zeus. In the Snake-goddess of Crete we should also recognize the the anthropomorphic form of the primitive Earth-goddess Gaia. The ancient Mother-goddess was not necessarily an attractive personality, she was the Fate who measured the lives of men who sent disasters as well as blessings, was associated with lions and snakes, as well as doves and deer, and was loved as well as feared and was worshipped as well as propitiated. There is another feature of the cult which is very striking and of significance to students of comparative religion. The goddess is associated with a young subordinate diety. "A goddess with a young subordinate god is known in early times on every coast of the Mediterranean which looked towards Crete. In Punic Africa she is Tanit with her son; in Egypt, Isis with Horus; in Phœnicea, Ashtaroth with Tammuz (Adonis); in Asia Minor, Cybele with Attis; in Greece (and especially including in Greece Crete itself) Rhea with the young Zeus. Everywhere she is unwed, but made the mother of her first companion by immaculate conception and then of the gods and of all life by the embraces of her owns on.....The goddess is the spirit of nature, constantly renewing herself in her own offspring. Of this universal diety of all the Near East the Ægean goddess with her son was, beyond all question a manifestation."* The terrible aspect of the divinity and her mother-aspect is perhaps well echoed in the various forms of Śakta cult of India, with its

* *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 147.

conception of the Devī (goddess) as *Ādyā Śakti*, "the primordial energy" and *Jagadambā*, "the mother of the Universe." It is quite possible that this mother-cult was an independent evolution on the Indian soil but it may also be permitted to assume that it was the survival from very primitive epochs of the earliest forms of belief having a common bond with Mediterranean forms of worship, relics of which have now been discovered in the Cretan remains. For it is very significant that the female form of the diety plays a quite unimportant part in the Vedic Pantheon and the various names of Śakti do not occur until in the latest works of Vedic literature. The Indian Śakti-cult may therefore be an Āryan development of non-Vedic and non-Āryan forms of belief which existed in India from the most ancient times which the philosophic speculations of a more cultured age absorbed and then transformed into their present shapes. The relationship of the great goddess and the male associate referred to in the above cults of the Mediterranean area seem to have left some of its traces upon the Indian Śakta cults in the mysterious association of Śiva and Śivāni and a curious, though very significant, parallel is afforded in a nineteenth century folk-song still sung in Bengal which may be rendered as follows:—

"Don't you know me thy Śivāni, Oh Śiva! whom I gave birth to, and whose wife I ultimately became."

That many of the cult features of the Mediterranean Mother-goddess find close parallels in the various development of Kālī and other Śakti cults need no elaborate demonstration. That the primitive Mother-cult underwent considerable modifications and variegated transformations from its archaic type might perhaps be conceded, the Snake-goddess herself had, for instance, a very interesting career in India in the process of assimilation by the Vedic and the later Paurāṇic cults. Without going into a general history of the very well-known and widespread snake-cults in India, still surviving

in the observances of the *Nāga Pancamī*, we may be permitted to refer to the *sarpamantra* in the *Aitareya Brāhmhāṇa* which is more pertinent to the present study :—

ते ततः सर्पन्ति ते सदः संप्रपद्यन्ते । यथायवमन्त्रं कृत्विजो न्युसर्पन्ति
संसर्पन्नुद्गातरक्षो सर्पराज्ञा कृत्तु सुवतः ॥ इयं वै सर्पराज्ञीयं हि सर्वतो राज्ञीयं
वा असोमिकेवाय आसीत् । सेतं मन्त्रमप्यब्रुद् “आयं गौः इन्द्रिरजसीत्” इति ।
तामयं इन्द्रिर्वर्चं आविशन् नागारूपो यं यं काममकामयत यदिदं किं
वीजवयो वनस्पतयः सर्वाणि रूपाणि ॥ इन्द्रिरनं वर्चं आविशति नागारूपो
यं यं कामं कामयते य एवं वेद ॥ (V. 23. 1-3).

The Udgatṛs chant the verses seen by the Queen of the Serpents ; because the earth is the Queen of the Serpents for she is the Queen of all that moves.

The identification of the Queen of the Serpents with the Earth seems to echo the association of the conception of the Cretan Snake-goddess with Mother Earth, Gaia, referred to above. The two conceptions India and Cretan may have been inspired by and derived from a common stratum of beliefs spreading over an Indian as well as an extra-Indian culture area.

We now address ourselves to the text of our essay, the representation of the Snake-goddess from Egypt, the Isis-serpent the original of which is in the Cairo Museum and which we have been able to reproduce from a photograph lent to us by the courtesy of the curator. Like the analogy of the Bengali Manasā with the Cretan Snake-goddess, the Egyptian Isis-serpent offers another interesting parallel with a somewhat similarly conceived Indian icon representing a Snake-goddess. It is not at all claimed that the iconographic formula is identical but it will be impossible to deny that both the Indian and the Egyptian icon equate with some fundamental similarity of conception. Though no earlier forms of the Indian icon have yet come to light the examples reproduced here, one from Kamalāpuram (Hampi), and the other from the collection of South Kensington Museum, London, hail from Southern India and cannot be dated earlier

than the sixteenth century, the one from South Kensington being probably earlier by about a century. It is not hazardous to suppose that earlier forms of this icon may have existed in wood or clay, as the stereotyped form of the icon clearly suggests an old ancestry of type. There is no doubt that the one illustrated in plate is a goddess and not an ordinary *nāgini* so frequently represented in mediaeval Indian art; she carries in one hand the lotus and in the other hand she displays the *abhayamudrā*, the reassuring attitude. The other Indian example with its elaborate ornaments and decorations is an image *par excellence* with the *prabhā-toraṇa* at the back crowned by the inevitable *kīrtimukha* terminating in two *makaras*. She has in addition a hood of a serpent and two female attendant figures on either side. The attitude of her hands in *baddhāñjali* is difficult to account for, if she is an independent image. In the Egyptian example the attendant figures on either side are two winged monsters. The variations in the shape of the Indian and Egyptian examples are much too obvious to suggest any direct borrowing or influence of the one on the other, but the two examples can be taken to be the result of the picturisation of the same fundamental cult conception and it is not necessary and not even possible, having regard to the differences, to postulate an actual migration of the form of the image from the banks of the Nile to those of the Kāveri and the Tungabhadra. The one could not have been derived from the other though they may well be illustrations of a kindred theme at different times and on different soils executed by two different races. The cults in their primitive forms were very probably common in the two continents and with the development and characterisation of the two races and civilisations one fundamental cult conception required somewhat different pictorial representations. The evolution of the primitive cult in the Āryan iconographic form necessitated substantial accretions which offered important features of differentiation.

While the two types of the Indian icon illustrated here have some fundamental analogy of forms, particularly in the disposition of the tail, the attitudes of the two vary considerably. The example from South Kensington bears a lotus and also the *abhaya-mudrā* and is evidently a Serpent-goddess, like the one from Hampi. Mr. Longhurst has suggested that she may probably represent the consort of Virūpākṣa, the tutelary god of the kings of Vijayanagar. The worship of Nāgas has enjoyed a long popularity amongst Indian women who believed in the power of the serpent of bestowing offspring on worshippers desiring children and snake stones, known as *Nāga-kalas*, have been made in considerable numbers in Southern India. The examples we are considering here, must be distinguished from the common type of snake-stones as they must have been special icons enjoying special form of worship. They may have been the South India versions of the popular goddess Manasā for whom a special *Purāṇa* called the *Padma Purāṇa* was composed in Bengal. If we turn for a moment to the Egyptian example, the extremely skilful and decorative disposition of the tail in the form of the figure "eight" (8) differentiates it entirely from the Indian examples. But the peculiar disposition of the tail has many curious coincidences with many representations of the serpent met with in the monuments of Sanchi and Amarāvati⁴ so that the earlier representation of serpents in India have echoed the form which we find in the Egyptian example. Evidently this mode of representation did not survive to later times, to which belong the Indian examples illustrated here.

Before we study the analogy of the icons further it will be useful to refer to the function of the Snake-deity in Egypt. The snake-form played a very important part in many Egyptian legends. In the well-known creation legend, Sokar, the god of the under-world; with three human heads, has a serpent's body. Horus son of Isis, was nourished and protected by the serpent

⁴ Burgess, *Amaravati* (1887), Plates xxviii, xxxix and xl.

goddess Uazit, the the tutelary goddess of the delta of the Nile. The last door of the underworld is guarded by Isis, wife of Osiris, and also by Nephthys wife of Set, in the form of serpents, as in our example from the Cairo Museum. It is not possible to say whether the snake-cult of Crete was borrowed from Egypt. If we date the beginnings of Egyptian history about 3500 B.C., the Minoan civilization in Crete was nearly, if not quite, as old as the Egyptian. Both the Cretans and the Egyptians probably inherited similar beliefs from their common ancestors in the area where the Mediterranean race developed its peculiar features. According to Burrows,⁵ "in Crete, the goddess with the snakes was herself not entirely a new foreign cult, but rather the chthonic aspect of the Nature-goddess who seems from first to last to have been the main object of worship in the island." Whatever may have been the affinities of the snake cults in Egypt and Crete the form of the Isis-serpent has no parallel in Crete and the somewhat distant parallel of the Egyptian icon is found in India in the examples here cited. While some authorities have recognized a stratum of Babylonian culture in Indian cults and beliefs, nobody has yet discovered any evidence of any intercourse or connection with Egypt in the development of Indo-Āryan culture. As regards archæological evidence of any contact between the two civilization, it is very meagre. In fact, the only evidence hitherto discovered in that brought to light by Professor Flinders Petrie. As his paper seems to have attracted little attention in India it may be useful to allude to it here. In his article on "Memphis and its Foreigners",⁶ Professor Petrie first recorded his discovery of various terracotta figures of Indians which he estimated to have been made during the Persian occupation about 500 B.C. "While Indian heads and figures are also found here of the Tibetan and of the Āryan stocks, showing how both the extremes

⁵ *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 187.

⁶ *Records of the Past*, Vol. viii, Part iii, May-June 1900, pp. 181-186.

of the Persian empire, Scythian and Indian, were brought together in Memphis, as we know they were in the Greek War. The importance of the Indian colony in Memphis under the Persian Empire lies in its bearing on the importation of Indian thought and the rise of the ascetic movement before Christ, which culminated in western monachism." While Professor Petrie's suggestion is that an Indian Current flowed towards the Mediterranean, no evidence has yet been discovered of any cross current from the valley of the Nile. As the human mind is not like a mould which produces automatically the same shapes for the same purposes, one is at some disadvantage in explaining the analogy between the forms of the two Snake-goddesses in India and Egypt. If we postulate the existence of a snake-cult in India from pre-Vedic times a cult which was a sort of sister to the cult which afterwards incarnated in Isis-serpent and which we can suppose to be the inhabitant of a larger continent of culture embracing Egypt and India and which was absorbed by the Indo-Āryan culture of the Vedic epoch and developed into newer shapes during the Paurāṇic age, we come somewhat nearer to the solution of the mystery of the analogy of these two forms.

ANCIENT HINDU EDUCATION AS EVIDENCED BY THE BRĀHMANAS AND UPANIṢADS.

DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D.,

Professor of Ancient Indian History, University of Mysore.

The purpose of the present paper¹ is to bring together the information scattered throughout the Upaniṣads regarding the educational system of which they were ultimately the most conspicuous products. The present survey takes into account only the older Upaniṣads² most of which are distinguished by Śaṅkara's choice of them for commentary.³ While there has been so much study made so far of the philosophical and literary aspects of the Upaniṣads, little or no attention seems to have been bestowed upon the educational system or organisation to which we owe those valuable literary treasures. That system or organisation is, however, clearly indicated in the Upaniṣads themselves. The product points to the machinery which has fashioned it. For a right understanding of the Upaniṣads themselves, we must try to understand the distinctive cultural background, environment, or atmosphere, with which they are vitally bound up.

¹ The sources and authorities are as far as possible indicated both in the body of the text and the footnotes. But I wish to record my special obligations to Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* from which I have derived valuable hints, suggestions and references, and also renderings of some passages which have been incorporated in places without quotation marks. Quotation marks have not been also given in respect of the translations of the *Sacred Books of the East* volumes of the Upaniṣads. I also owe special acknowledgments to Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index* which led me to most of the passages utilised. My obligations to these two works have been too deep to be detailed.

² Viz., *Brhadāraṇyaka*, *Chāndogya*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Kauṣītaki*, *Kena*, the *Kāthaka*, *Īśa*, *Svetāśvatara*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Praśna*, *Maitrāyaṇīya*, and *Māṇḍūkya*.

³ Viz., *Brhad.*, *Chānd.*, *Taitt.*, *Ait.*, *Svet.*, *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Kātha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍ.* and *Māṇḍ.* Of these Śaṅkara's authorship of the commentaries on two, viz., *Māṇḍ.*, and *Svet.* is doubtful. Deussen shows that Śaṅkara quotes from all the Upaniṣads mentioned above and also from the additional ones viz., *Jābāla*, *Māhānārāyaṇa* and *Pañḍgi*.

The educational system implied in the Upaniṣads is in its main lines an anticipation of the system described in its fully developed form in the Śrauta, Gṛhya, and Dharma Sūtras.

The Upaniṣads emphasize the need of instruction under a teacher. The futility of mere self-study is always recognised. The teacher is represented as indispensable to knowledge in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* (ii. 8): "Apart from the teacher, there is no access here." Similarly, the *Mundaka Upaniṣad* (i, 2. 12): "Let him in order to understand this, take fuel in his hand and approach a Guru who is learned and dwells entirely in *Brahman*." Again (iii. 2. 3): "Not by self-study is the *ātman* realised, not by mental power; nor by amassing much information." A teacher is regarded as necessary to disperse the mist of empirically acquired knowledge from our eyes as explained so beautifully in the following passage from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vi. 14. 1-2): "Precisely, my dear Sir, as a man who has been brought blindfold from the country of Gandhāra and then set at liberty in the desert, goes astray to the east, or north or south, because he has been brought thither blindfold and blindfold set at liberty; but after that some one has taken off the bandage and has told him, 'In this direction Gandhāra lies, go in this direction', instructed and prudent, asking the road from village to village, he finds his way home to Gandhāra; even so the man, who in this world has met with a teacher becomes conscious, 'To this (transitory world) shall I belong only until the time of my release, thereafter shall I go home'."

In the older Upaniṣads we repeatedly come across the prohibition to communicate a doctrine or ceremony to anyone except a son or a pupil adopted by the rite of *Upanayanam* first mentioned in the Atharva-veda (xi. 5). In the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (iii. 2. 6. 9) the mystical meaning of the combinations of the letters must be "communicated to no one who is not a pupil, who has not been a pupil for a whole year, who does not

propose himself to be a teacher.”⁴ Again the *Chândogya Upaniṣad* (iii. 2. 5) states: “A father may therefore tell that doctrine (i.e., the doctrine of *Brahman* as the sun of the universe) to his eldest son, or to a worthy pupil. But no one should tell it to anybody else, even if he gave him the whole sea-girt earth, full of treasure.” In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (vi. 3. 12) the ceremony of the mixed drink, must be communicated to none but a son or a pupil. Similarly, the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (vi. 22): “This highest mystery in the Vedānta delivered in a former age should not be given to one whose passions have not been subdued nor to one who is not a son or who is not a pupil.” And the *Muītṛāyaṇiya Upaniṣad* (vi. 29): “Let no man preach this most secret doctrine to anyone who is not his son or his pupil....To him alone who is devoted to his teacher only, and endowed with all necessary qualities may he communicate it.”

We also find in the Upaniṣads men and gods taking the fuel in their hands and submitting to the conditions of pupilage. The *Chândogya Upaniṣad* (v. 3) relates how Indra himself was obliged to live with Prajāpati as a pupil for 101 years in order to obtain the perfect instruction. In the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (i. 1) Āruṇi takes fuel in his hand and becomes a pupil of Citra Gāṅgyāyani. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (ii. 1. 14) Gārgya says to Ajātaśatru: “Then let me come to you as a pupil.” In the *Praśna Upaniṣad* (i. 1) Sukeśas, Satyakāma, Sauryāyaṇin, Kauśalya, Vaidarbhi and Kabandhin, take fuel in their hands to become pupils of Pippalāda.⁵

At the same time the evidence seems to indicate that a formal pupilage was not absolutely binding in the earlier period. The differentiation between the four compulsory *āśramas* or life stages was a comparatively late growth. Thus in the *Chândogya* (iv. 9. 3) it is merely said that “the knowledge which is gained from a teacher (as opposed to

⁴ Cf. also v. 3. 3. 4

⁵ Cf. also *Muṇḍ Uṇ.*, i. 2. 12 cited above.

supernatural instruction by beasts, fire, geese or ducks) leads most certainly to the goal". In another passage (v. 11. 7), the King, Aśvapati, instructs the six Brāhmaṇas who approach him with the fuel in their hands *anupantiya*, "without first admitting them as his pupils", or "demanding any preparatory rites". In still another passage (vi. 1. 1) we read; "There lived once Śvetaketu Āruṇeya. To him his father (Uddālaka, the son of Aruṇa) said: "Śvetaketu, go to school; for there is none belonging to our race, darling, who not having studied (the Veda) is, as it were, a Brāhmaṇa by birth only." From this remark, it may reasonably be inferred that at that time entrance upon the life of a Brāhmaṇa-student, while it was a commendable custom, was not yet universally enjoined upon Brāhmaṇas. Similarly the entrance also of Satyakāma upon studentship appears to be his voluntary determination.⁶ Again in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (ii. 4) Yājñavalkya instructs his wife Maitreyī and King Janaka (iv. 1-2, 3-4) who yet were not strictly his pupils: he also imparts knowledge on the deepest problems (e. g., in the conversation with Gārgī, iii. 8) in the presence of a numerous circle of hearers, and only exceptionally, when he desires to explain to Ārtabhāga the mystery of the soul's transmigration does he retire with him into privacy (iii. 2. 13).

It is also evident from the passages just cited that it was possible in those days for a man to revive instruction from his father or at the hands of other teachers. Śvetaketu did both.⁷ The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 6. 2. 4) shows that the Brāhmaṇa was expected to instruct his own son in both study and sacrificial ritual, and furnishes an illustration of this in Varuṇa, the teacher of his son Bhṛgu. This fact is also borne out by the evidence of some of the names in the *Varuṇa Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāma-veda* and the *Varuṇa* or list of teachers of the *Sāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (xv. 1). It should however be

⁶ Chānd., iv. 4. 1.

⁷ Chānd., v. 3. 1; Bṛhad., vi. 2. 1; Kauś. Up., i. 1, and Chānd., vi. 1. 1.

noted that these *Vamśas*, and those of the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* also, show that a father often preferred that his son should have a famous teacher.

Studentship is normally inaugurated by the ceremony of *Upanayana* or initiation, the significance of which is most beautifully set forth in the *Atharvaveda*. The spiritual significance of the details of the *Upanayana* ceremony is also indicated in the *Satapatha* (xi. 5. 4): "The teacher lays his right hand on the head of the pupil whereby he becomes pregnant with him (तेन गर्भो भवति) and then in the third night the embryo issues out of the teacher and being taught the *Sāvitrī* obtains true Brāhmaṇahood."⁸ "He is like a divine creature born from his teacher's mouth" (xi. 5. 4. 17). The request to be received by the preceptor was to be duly made,⁹ i.e., according to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (vi. 2. 7) with the words उपैत्यं भवन्तम्. In the *Satapatha* (xi. 5. 4) the student has to say formally: "May I enter upon *brahmacarya*" and "Let me be a *brahmacārin*". The student has also to take the fuel in his hand as a token that he is willing to serve the teacher and especially to maintain the sacred fires.¹⁰ Before receiving him, the teacher makes inquiry into his birth and family. Satyakāma Jābāla going to Gautama Hāridrumata said to him: "I wish to become a *brahmacārin* with you, Sir. May I come to you, Sir?" He said to him: "of what family are you, my friend?"¹¹ The manner of the inquiry shows that it was made in a very indulgent fashion and the uncertainty regarding his parentage was not in actual practice admitted as a bar to the teacher's acceptance of the pupil. Similarly in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 5. 4. 1) the teacher merely asks the name of the intending pupil and then accepts him.

⁸ See Sāyana's commentary for fuller explanations.

⁹ Cf. *vidhvat* in *Muṇḍ.*, i. 1. 3.

¹⁰ See previous passages cited. *Kauś Up.*, iv. 10; *Chānd.*, iv. 5; v. 13. 7; viii. 7. 2; x. 3; xi. 2; *Muṇḍ.*, i. 2. 12; *Praśna*, i. 1.

¹¹ *Chānd.*, iv. 4. 4.

The period of studentship was normally fixed at twelve years. Śvetaketu returned home after spending twelve years with his preceptor.¹² Upakośala Kāmalāyana "dwelt as a *brahmacārin* in the house of Satyakāma Jābāla and tended his fires for twelve years."¹³ There also seem to have been longer terms than that of twelve years—Satyakāma Jābāla spent a series of years with his preceptor during which "four hundred cows had become a thousand".¹⁴ Studentship for thirty-two years is also mentioned¹⁵ and also for 101 years.¹⁶

The age at which such studentship commenced is indicated from the case of Śvetaketu who "began his apprenticeship with a teacher when he was twelve years of age".¹⁷

We shall now consider the conditions and duties of studentship.

The first condition of course was that the student had to live in the house of his teacher. Even the *Atharvaveda* refers to this condition in the phrase, "if we have dwelt in studentship".¹⁸ It is also referred to in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 3. 3. 2) as also in the *Aitareya*¹⁹ and *Taittirīya*²⁰ *Brāhmaṇas*. The *Chāndogya* applies to the student the epithets *ācārya-kula-vāsin* (ii. 23. 2) and *ante-vāsin* (iii. 11. 5; iv. 10.1). The latter epithet is also used by the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (vi. 3. 7) and *Taittirīya Upanisads* (i. 3. 3; ii. 1).

It was the usual rule of the *brahmacārin* to go about begging for his teacher. In the *Chāndogya* (iv. 3.5) while the householders Śaunaka Kāpeya and Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni

¹² *Chānd*, vi 1. 2

¹³ *Ibid*, v. 10 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, iv 4. 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, viii 7. 3

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11 3.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vi 1. 2

¹⁸ ब्रह्मचर्ये बह्विनि, vii. 109 7.

¹⁹ In the story of a boy whose brothers divided the paternal property among themselves, while he lived with his teacher studying the Vedas ब्रह्मचर्ये बसंतम् *At. Br.*, v. 14.

²⁰ श्री बी देवाचरति ब्रह्मचर्यम् *Taitt. Br.*, iii. 7. 63.

were being waited on at their meal, a religious student begged of them. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 3. 3. 5) also refers to the *brahmacārin* begging for alms as well as the *Atharva-veda* (vi. 133. 3). It is also clear from the aforesaid passage of the *Śatapatha* that begging was prescribed for the student to produce in him a proper spirit of humility: "Having made himself poor, as it were, and become devoid of shame, he begs alms."

Another of his duties was *to tend the sacred fires*. Upakośala tended the sacred fires for twelve years and yet his teacher does not allow him to return home, but goes away on a journey without having taught him.²¹ Looking after the sacrificial fires is also mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 3. 3. 4). Elsewhere in the same work (xi. 5. 4. 5) the duty of the *brahmacārin* is stated to be to "put on fuel", the spiritual significance of which is also explained, viz., "to enkindle the mind with fire, with holy lustre".

Tending the house was also one of his duties. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we read: "Wherefore the students guard their teacher, his house and cattle" (iii. 6. 2. 15). In the *Chāndogya* (iv. 4. 5) Satyakāma is sent away with the teacher's herds of cattle into a distant country where he remains for a series of years during which four hundred cows had become a thousand. The duty of guarding the teacher's cattle and grazing them in the pastures is also referred to in the *Śankhāyana Āraṇyaka* (vii. 19). In the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (iii. 1. 6. 3-4) Tārūksya guards his teacher's cows for a whole year.

The *brahmacārin* is also enjoined not to sleep during day-time.²²

On festive occasions, the teacher was accompanied by his pupils, who awaited his commands. At the sacrifice

²¹ *Chānd.*, iv. 10. 1-2

²² *Śat. Br.*, xi. 5. 4 5.

of Janaka, Videha, whither had come the Brāhmaṇas of the Kurus and Pañchālas, when a thousand cows with ten *pādas* of gold attached to the horns of each were offered to the wisest Brāhmaṇa, Yājñavalkya stepped forward and asked his pupil to drive them away.²³

Together with and after these acts of service, "in the time remaining over from work for the teacher" (गुरोः कार्यसिद्धये वा), the pupil prosecuted his studies.²⁴

An idea of the actual regulations governing Vedic studies may be obtained from a passage in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* at the end of the fifth *āraṇyaka*, giving restrictions as to the recitation and teaching of the *Mahāvratā*. The passage gives the following rules among others: "The teacher and pupil should not stand, nor walk, nor lie down, nor sit on a couch; but they should both sit on the ground. The pupil should not lean backward while learning, nor lean forward. He should not be covered with too much clothing, nor assume the postures of a devotee, but without using any of the apparel of a devotee, simply elevate his knees. Nor should he learn when he has eaten flesh, when he has seen blood, or a corpse, or when he has done an unlawful thing, when he has anointed his eyes, oiled or rubbed his body, when he has been shaved or bathed, put on colour, or has ornamented himself with flower-wreaths, when he has been writing or effacing his writing."²⁵

By means of these external practices and regulations, it was sought to develop in the young pupils those internal conditions (प्रत्यक्ष, or direct as opposed to वाच्य) or mental and moral attributes which would afterwards fit them for being taught the highest knowledge, the knowledge of the *Brahman* forming the special subject-matter of the Upaniṣads. Various pre-suppositions of Upaniṣadic instruction, or preparatory

²³ *Bṛhad*, iii. 1. 1-2.

²⁴ *Chānd.*, viii. 15.

²⁵ This is probably the earliest mention of actual writing in Sanskrit literature.

means to a knowledge of the *Brahman*, are laid down in the Upaniṣads themselves as well as in some earlier works.

Thus the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (ii. 1. 2. 1-9) requires the *brahmacārin* to overcome the same passions, viz., caste-pride (*brahma-varcasam*), fame, sleep, anger, bragging, personal beauty and fragrance which are correlated respectively with the antelope, the teacher, the python, the boar, the water, maidens, trees and plants. If he clothes himself in the skin of the antelope, he obtains *brahma-varcasam*; if he works for his teacher, he obtains fame for the latter; if though sleepy, he abstains from sleep, he obtains the sleep that is in the python; if humble in spirit, he does not injure anyone through anger, he obtains the anger that is in the boar; if he does not perform braggart tricks in the water he obtains the braggadocio that is in the water; if he does not look at a naked maiden, he obtains the beauty that is in the maiden; if he does not smell plants and trees, after having cut them, he becomes himself fragrant.²⁹

The Upaniṣads²⁷ require that the *brahmacārin*, before he is taught the highest knowledge, the knowledge of the *Brahman*, should show that he is calm and unperturbed in mind (शान्त),²⁸ self-restrained (दान्त), self-denying (उपरत),²⁹ patient (तितिक्षु) and collected (समादित).³⁰ To these are sometimes added purity of food and as a consequence purity of nature *sattvaśuddhi*³¹; the fulfilment of the vow of the head (शिरोव्रतम्),³² which indicates either the rite of carrying fire on the head, or, as Deussen suggests³³ the shaving of the head bare (as implied by the term *mūḍaka*).

²⁷ Bloomfield, *Atharvaveda*, p. 111.

²⁸ *Brhad.*, iv. 4. 23, enumerating all the five attributes.

²⁹ *Katha*, ii. 24; *Munḍ.*, i. 2. 13; *Śvet.*, vi. 22; *Mastrā.*, vi. 29 and x. 22 and *Kaivalya*, iii. 4.

³⁰ *Katha*, loc. cit.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Chānd.*, vii. 20. 2; *Munḍ.*, iii. 2. 6, cf. also *Mahānār.*

³³ *Munḍ.*, iii. 2. 10-11.

³⁴ *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 73. I owe some valuable hints to the work.

More often, as might naturally be expected, the realisation of the knowledge of *Brahman*, with its hard conditions and pre-requisites, required the dedication of a whole life and not merely of a part of it. Śvetaketu coming home, after twelve years of studentship, "conceited, considering himself well-read and stern",³⁴ and ignorant of the knowledge of the *Brahman* was probably typical of such students as failed to attain the highest knowledge during the comparatively brief period of their pupilship and were deemed unworthy of that instruction. Upakośala Kāmalāyana was probably another such case who in spite of his twelve years of austere studentship was not deemed worthy of that instruction by his teacher.³⁵ Indeed it is reasonable to assume that some of the moral attributes insisted upon as essential pre-requisites of instruction, being, as they are, but the preparatory means to the highest end of human life—the attainment of the knowledge of the *Brahman*—belong to the last stages of a disciplined life, as the fruits of a long struggle, rather than to its first stage. They cannot be regarded as the normal initial endowments with which a youthful student starts in his career. The epithets *śānta*, *dāntā*, *uparata* and the like are hardly applicable, for instance, to an immature stripling who has had no experience of the struggle and temptations of life and of "the ills that flesh is heir to".

This view is supported by several passages from the Upaniṣads in which the conception and the scope of *brahmacarya* is widened so as to embrace, not merely the student period proper, but the entire course of life, regulated by the disciplines of its four successive *āśramas* or stages as the way that leads to the Ātman. Thus in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (iv. 4. 22) we read: "Brāhmaṇas seek to know Him by the study of the Veda, by sacrifice, by gifts, by penance, by fasting and he who knows Him becomes a *Muni*. Wishing for that

³⁴ *Chānd.*, vi. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 10

world (of *Brahman*) only, mendicants leave their homes. Knowing this the people of old did not wish for offspring—and they having risen above the desire for sons, wealth and new worlds wander about as mendicants.” There is here a clear reference to all the four *āśramas* or life-stages. Similarly in the *Chāndogya* (ii. 23) we read: “There are three branches of duty,—sacrifice, study and charity are the first (i.e., the *Gṛhastha-āśrama*). Austerity is the second (i.e., *vānaprastha*, the third *āśrama*) and to dwell as a *brahmacārin* in the house of a teacher, always mortifying the body in the house of a teacher is the third (referring not to the ordinary, but to the *naiṣṭhika* or perpetual *brahmacārin*). All these obtain the worlds of the blessed; but the *brahma-samstha* (referring to the fourth *āśrama*, the *sannyāsin* or *parivrāj* absorbed in *Brahman*) alone obtains immortality.” A more explicit passage occurs in the same Upaniṣad (viii. 15) in which the *brahmacārin* is exhorted, after completing his studentship, to become a householder,—*गृहस्थे* (*गृहिता*)—and attain fruition in a life of self-study and self-discipline. In another passage (viii. 5) the observances of the last three *āśramas* such as sacrifices, vow of silence, fasting and living an anchorite’s life in the forest are recognised as being ultimately but forms of *brahmacarya*, as the underlying principle of life. In the *Kena* (iv. 8) asceticism, self-restraint and sacrifice (*tapas*, *dama*, *karman*) are specified as the preliminary conditions (*pratiṣṭhāḥ*) of the *Brāhmī Upaniṣad*, i.e., of the real mystical doctrine which reveals *Brahman*. In the *Kaṭha* (ii. 15) all the Vedas, all the practices of *tapas* and *brahmacarya* are described as means by which the ONE (*Brahman*) is to be sought as the final aim. In the *Munḍaka* (ii. 1) the observances of the *āśramas* are referred to as *tapas*, *śraddhā*, *satya*, *brahmacarya* and *vidhi*. The *Praśna* (1. 2) insists on penance (*tapas*), abstinence (*brahmacarya*) and faith (*śraddhā*). Thus the knowledge aimed at in the Upaniṣads implies the application of the whole life, through all its stages. It is also clear that the various

pre-requisites mentioned of that knowledge rest upon the common basis of a life of abstinence and asceticism for which the term *brahmacarya* or *tapas* is generally applied in an extended connotation. Nearly all the Upaniṣads emphasise the need of asceticism or practice of *tapas* in all stages of life. In the *Brhadāranyaka* (ii. 4) Yājñavalkya, departs into the solitude of the forest in order to practise *tapas*, which by gradually increasing privations and penances destroys in the ascetic the last links of dependence on earthly existence—In the *Chāndogya* (iv. 10) Upakośāla the student is “quite exhausted with austerities, and from mortification was not able to eat”. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (i. 9) demands of the student asceticism and study of the Veda and quotes the views of two teachers, Taponitya Paurasiṣṭhi and Nāka Maudgalya, of whom the former requires “asceticism alone” and the other “study of the Veda”, for “this is asceticism”. Varuṇa repeatedly urges his son Bhṛgu thus: “By *tapas* seek to know Brahman.”³⁸ In *Muṇḍaka* (i. 2.11) the way of the Gods is promised to those “who practise asceticism and faith in the forest”. The *Praśna* (i. 10) offers it to those “who have sought the *ātman* by asceticism”. In the *Maitrāyaṇīya* (iv. 3) it is stated that “without being an ascetic it is impossible either to attain the knowledge of the *ātman* or to bring work to fruition”, but asceticism alone does not always secure knowledge of the *ātman* as in the case of King Bṛihadhratha who renouncing his kingdom went into the forest and practised highest penance for a thousand days without “knowing the self” (i. 2).

That the teaching of the Upaniṣads was not always confined to the first period of life is also evident from a few concrete examples. Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, on reporting to his father Gautama the imperfect character of the instruction he received from him, as proved by his inability to answer some questions put to him by the King (*rājanya*) Pravāhaṇa

³⁸ *Taitt. Up.*, iii.

Jaivali, was thus told by his father: "You know me, child, that whatever I know, I told you. But come, we shall go thither, and dwell there as students." Gautama then goes to the king who asks him: "Gautama, do you wish (for instruction from me) in the proper way?" Gautama replied: "I come to you as a pupil."²⁷ There are other examples which point to temporary connections between teachers and elderly pupils, or householders, for the imparting of knowledge of some special doctrines and truths. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Yājñavalkya instructs Maitreyī, Janaka, Gārgī and Ārtabhāga.²⁸ In the *Chāṇḍogya* (v. 11) "five great householders and great theologians"—Prācināsala Aupamanyava, Satyayajña Pauluṣṭi, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, Jana Śārkarākṣya and Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi—first go for some special instruction to Uddālaka Āruṇi and these, all of advanced age, then go to Āsvapati Kaikeya as the best teacher for the purpose. In the *Muṇḍaka* (i. 1. 3) Śaunaka who is described as a great householder (महागृहस्थः) approaches Aṅgīras for instruction. In the *Chāṇḍogya* (vii. 1) Nārada approaches Sanatkumāra after completing the period of ordinary studentship during which he has studied a variety of subjects, and says, "I, Sir, have learnt all the *mantras*, but do not yet know what *ātman* is". In another passage (viii. 7-11) Indra grows old in learning at the house of his preceptor.

That the period of studentship was regarded as preparatory for the realisation of the knowledge of the Absolute is also evident from the following parting words a teacher generally addressed to his student when he was permitted to return home after the completion of his studies and begin the next stage of life as a householder²⁹:—

"Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After presenting gifts to thy teacher,

²⁷ *Bṛhad. Up.*, vi. 2. 1-7; also *Chāṇḍ.*, v. 3.

²⁸ *Bṛhad.* ii. 4; iv. 1-2, 3-4; iii. 8; iii. 2, 13 already cited.

²⁹ *Taitt. Up.*, i. 11.

take care that the thread of thy race be not broken! Do not swerve from truth, from duty! Do not neglect your health! Do not neglect your worldly prosperity⁴⁰! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda!

“Do not neglect the (sacrificial) works due to the Gods and Manes! Let thy mother be to thee like unto a God! Let thy father be to thee like unto a God! Let thy guests be to thee like unto a God! Let thy preceptor be to thee like unto a God! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee,—

“Not others. There are some Brāhmanas better than we. To these you should show proper reverence. Whatever is given should be given with faith,—with joy, with modesty, with fear, from sense of duty. If there should be any doubt in thy mind with regard to any sacred act, or with regard to conduct,—

“In that case conduct thyself as Brāhmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe but devoted to duty. And with regard to things that are doubtful, as Brāhmanas who possess good judgment conduct themselves therein, whether they be appointed or not, as long as they are not too severe, but devoted to duty.

“Thus conduct thyself. This is my admonition. This is the teaching. This is the true purport (*Upaniṣad*) of the Veda—This is the command. Thus should you observe. Thus should this be observed.”

These words addressed to the student, at the end of his career, read almost like the Chancellor's convocation address to the students of a modern University passing out of its portals on their admission to their degrees. It will be not^{answer}tion

⁴⁰ The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. iii. 3, 7) lays down that one must “not^{answer} after he has bathed (at the end of studentship)” — a very significant and *vāhana* restriction for the householder with the responsibilities of his position.

that in the ancient valedictory address, emphasis is laid upon several interesting points. In the first place, entering upon the householder's life and fatherhood is enjoined as a compulsory religious duty in the interests of the continuity of the race. In the second place, is enjoined the duty of studying and teaching the Veda in the interests of the continuity of culture. Indeed one of the understood conditions of studentship is the obligation to teach and thus transmit learning from age to age. In the third place the duties of domestic and social life are indicated. They are: to honour father, mother, teacher and guest as Gods⁴²; to honour superiors; to give in proper manner and spirit, in joy and humility, in fear and compassion, so that it may bless both "him that gives and him that takes"; to perform sacrifices, and in all doubtful cases, to order himself according to the judgment of approved authorities. Lastly, the pupil is also admonished not to neglect health and possessions. In an earlier passage of the *Taitt. Up.* (i. 9) learning and teaching the Veda are enjoined together with the pursuit of right, truth, penance, restraint, tranquillity, consecration of fires, sacrifice, entertainment of guests, social duties, marriage, fatherhood and grand-fatherhood. We may in passing note the spirit of humility, characterising the teacher, as shown in his asking his pupil to imitate his good points and ignore his bad ones and recognising his superiors.

The relations between the teacher and the taught were of the happiest kind. The pupil looked up to his preceptor as his father.⁴³ As indicated in the propitiatory verse beginning with सुहृन्नामसु which is uttered at the beginning of each day's study, the teacher and his pupil were united by a common aim of preserving and propagating the sacred learning and studying its worth in their life and conduct. Sometimes the

At. Ār., iii. 2. 6 : नामसु (do not teach one who will not himself teach)

This reminds us of the almost similar language employed in some of the Vedicts.

⁴³ *Praśna*, vi. 8.

antevāsins living in the house of the teacher preferred, and were permitted, to continue that life throughout, because it was so agreeable.⁴⁴

We have so far considered the conditions and duties appertaining to studentship. We shall now consider those of the teacher.

He is to possess the highest moral and spiritual qualifications. "This Truth is not grasped when taught by an inferior man", says the *Kaṭha* (i. 2. 8). The *Mundaka* (i. 2. 12) requires him to be well-versed in the sacred lore (*śrotriya*) and dwelling entirely in the *Brahman* (*Brahmaniṣṭha*). He must have a conviction based on realisation of the unity on which he is to enlighten his pupils ; otherwise it would be like the blind leading the blind.

A. It is the duty of the teacher, when a fit pupil approaches him, to teach him the truth exactly as he knows it.⁴⁵ Without concealing anything from him, for such concealment would spell ruin to him.⁴⁶ The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (vii. 4) lays down that the teacher must teach with all his heart and soul. He was bound also according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiv. 1. 1. 26. 27) to reveal everything to his pupil who at any rate lived with him for one whole year (*samvatsara-vāsin*), an expression which probably hints at possible changes of teachers by students. The teacher however was quite free, it must be understood, to impart to his pupil only the knowledge that he was fit for and reserve subjects to which they were not equal. There are on record certain cases of learning kept secret and revealed only to special persons.⁴⁷

A teacher might take several pupils.⁴⁸ In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1. 4. 3) we read : "As water runs downward, as the months go to the year, so O God, may *brahmacārins*, always come

⁴⁴ *Chānd.*, ii. 23. 2.

⁴⁵ *Munḍ.*, i. 2. 13.

⁴⁶ *Praśna.*, vi. 1.

⁴⁷ For instance the *Yasīṣṭhas* and the *Stomabhāgas* in *Pañc. Br.*, xv. 5. 24; *Taitt. Ār.*, iii. 5. 2. 1; *Kāth. Sam.*, xxxvi. 17; *Pravāhaṇa* Jaivali and his knowledge of *Brahman* in *Bṛhad.*, vi. 1. 11.

⁴⁸ *Taitt. Ār.*, vii. 3.

to me from all quarters." In the *Bṛahadaranyaka* (iii. 3.1 and iii. 7.1) we find a company of students wandering as far as the land of the Madras (on the Hyphasis) "in order to learn the sacrifice" from the teacher named Patañcala Kāpya.

In connection with these details, regarding the religious studentship of the period we have now to consider how far it was thrown open to the other castes and the other sex.

According to the later evidence of the *Grhya Sūtras* the three twice-born castes were all required to undergo a period of studentship. It was practically a system of universal compulsory education for the Indo-Aryans.⁴⁸ The courses of training and subjects of study were not of course uniform for all the castes. Some scholars support the evidence of the *Grhya Sūtras* by the reference in the *Atharvaveda* (xv. 5.17) to the king guarding his country by *brahmacarya*, though it lends itself to a different interpretation. More conclusive however is the evidence of the *Kāṭhaka Samhita* (ix. 16) in its reference to the rite intended to benefit one who, although not a Brāhmaṇa, had yet studied (*vidyām anūcya*) but had not acquired fame. We must add to this the evidence of the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* regarding learned Kṣatriyas and princes who studied the Vedas and attained proficiency in the sacred lore which was the special property of the Brāhmaṇas.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 6.2.1) King Janaka of Videha meets with some travelling Brāhmaṇas named Śvetaketu Āruṇeya, Somaśuśma Satyayajñi and Yājñavalkya and asks them how they offered the *agnihotra* oblation. Each of the three answers the question, but with regard to the answer of Yājñavalkya, the king compliments him by saying: "Thou hast approached very close to a solution of the *agnihotra*, O Yājñavalkya," pointing out at the same time the incompleteness of his answer in certain respects. The

⁴⁸ This probably explains the ground of remarkable boast of King Aśvapati Kaikeya in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (v. 11.5). "In my kingdom there is no ignorant person."

Brāhmaṇas then said amongst themselves: "This Rājanya has surpassed us in speaking; come, let us invite him to a theological discussion." Yājñavalkya however interposed: "We are Brāhmaṇas and he a Rājanya; if we overcome him, we shall ask ourselves, whom have we overcome? But if he overcome us men will say to us, a Rājanya has overcome Brāhmaṇas. Do not follow this course." In the end the *agnihotra* is explained by Janaka and on Yājñavalkya offering him the choice of a boon, he replied: "Let mine be the privilege of asking questions of thee when I list." Henceforward Janaka became a Brāhmaṇa, that is *Brahmaniṣṭha*, full of divine knowledge.

Janaka was typical of a class of learned Kṣatriyas of the period. In the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (iv. 1) the Brāhmaṇa Gārgya Bilāki "well read in the Veda" is silenced by the display of superior knowledge on every topic by Ajātaśatru, King of Kāśī. "Then the son of Balāka approached the king with fuel in his hand and said, "Let me attend thee (as thy pupil)".⁵⁰ The king replied, "I regard it as an inversion of the proper rule that a Kṣatriya should initiate a Brāhmaṇa."⁵¹ But come, I will instruct thee." Then, having taken him by the hand, he departed. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (v. 3.7) nearly the same story is told of Dr̥ptaḥlāki Gārgya and also in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (ii. 1. 1). Similarly Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, king of the Pañcālas, silenced Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father and treating them as disciples communicated to them knowledge which "has never dwelt in any Brāhmaṇa".⁵² Another learned king was Aśvapati Kaikeya to whom came "with fuel in their hands" five learned Brāhmaṇas to become his pupils. The king said, "How is this, venerable Sirs, when ye are learned in the scriptures and sons of men learned in the

⁵⁰ उनिदुपाविः प्रतिब्रह्मणि उपावामि इति; *Kauṣ. Up.*, iv. 1.19.

⁵¹ प्रतिशोभयमानेन तन्मते खलु क्षत्रियं ब्राह्मणमुपपद्येत; *ibid.*

⁵² *Śat. Br.*, xiv. 9. 1. 1; *Bṛhad.*, vi. 1.1, *Chānd.*, i. 8.1; v. 3.1.

scriptures ?” They replied : “Venerable Sir, thou knowest *Vaiṣvānara* thoroughly : teach us him !” He said : “I do indeed know *Vaiṣvānara* thoroughly : put your fuel on (the fire), ye are become my pupils”.⁵³ Lastly Nārada is taught by Sanatkumāra the God of War.^{53a}

There is a difference of opinion regarding the exact conclusion to which all this evidence should lead. Macdonell and Keith, who have carefully considered the subject, incline to the view that these cases of Brāhmaṇas learning from Kṣatriyas or princes have hardly much significance for “the priests would naturally represent their patrons as interested in their sacred science. It is thus not necessary to see in the notices any real and independent study on the part of the Kṣatriyās”.⁵⁴ In any case the stories refer only to a few selected Kṣatriyas of high rank, while there is no evidence that the average Kṣatriya was concerned with intellectual pursuits. The people who are represented to us as studying and disputing are normally Brahmanas, the bearers *par excellence* of Hindu Culture ; the kings are few and far between, and much of their fame seems to have been due to their generosity in regard to gifts. The *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (iv 1) indeed contains a hint that the fame of Janaka’s generosity, caused Ajātaśatru some embarrassment. The Kṣatriya’s first care was war and administration which were sufficient to absorb his attention. We may of course imagine a king in his spare moments, amusing himself with the disputes of ritualists and philosophers and we may even concede that a king might himself be the originator of some philosophic doctrine, especially as we have references to royal sages.⁵⁵ And traditions like the one given in the *Nirukta* (ii. 10) relating how Devāpi, a king’s son, became the *purohita* of his younger brother Śāntanu. But at the same time we must not forget

⁵³ *Sat. Br.*, x. 6.1 ; *Chānd.*, v. 11, with slight variations.

^{53a} *Chānd.*, vii.

⁵⁴ *Vedic Index*, ii. 87.

⁵⁵ *Rājanya-ṛṣi* in *Pañc. Br.*, xii. 12.6.

that to attribute wisdom to a king was a delicate and effective piece of flattery when such wisdom was really held in much respect, as indicated in a passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 1.4.10). The real relation between Brāhmaṇas and learned Kṣatriyas is most clearly indicated in the episode regarding the instruction of Yājñavalkya by king Janaka in the *agnihotra* at the end of which the latter far from assuming any position of superiority, still looks up to the Brāhmaṇa as his respected *guru* from whom he asks the following significant boon: "Let mine be the privilege of asking questions of thee when I list, O Yājñavalkya".⁵⁶

The available evidence shows that education was not denied to women. Sometimes they are found to share in the intellectual interests of the day. Of the two wives of Yājñavalkya⁵⁷ one takes no unimportant part in the disputations on philosophical topics. Two directions given in the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* (ii. 1) imply that elderly married women were permitted to hear Vedantic discourses. The Upaniṣads mention several *other women* as teachers, but it is not clear whether they were married. In this connection, we may note that women were taught some of the fine arts, like dancing and singing which were regarded as accomplishments unfit for men.⁵⁸

We now proceed to consider the subjects of study as they were known and developed during this period.

As has been already indicated the technical name for study proper, i.e. Vedic study is *svādhyāya* the blessings of which are eloquently described in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 5. 6. 3. 9), and also in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (ii. 13). Elsewhere the bliss of the learned *śrotriya* or student is deemed

⁵⁶ *Śat. Br.*, xi. 6.2.10. In the *Śat. Br.*, xiii. 4.3.5, we find a Rājanya as a lute-player and singer at the *aśvamedha* sacrifice, probably the forerunner of Kṣatriya bards from whom sprang the Epics. The presentation of this subject is based on *J.R.A.S.*, 1908. pp. 868-70 (Keith's comments, and *Vedic Index*, i. 206, ii. 87).

⁵⁷ *Brhad.*, iii. 4.1, iv. 5.1

⁵⁸ *Taitt. Saṁh.*, vi. 1, 6, 5; *Mastrū. Saṁh.*, iii. 7.3; *Śat. Br.*, iii. 2.4, 3-6.

equal to the highest possible joy.⁵⁹ The object in view was the threefold knowledge (*trayi vidyā*), that of the *Rk*, *Yajus* and *Sāman*.⁶⁰ A student of all three Vedas is called *tri-śukriya*,⁶¹ or *tri-śukra*, "thrice pure".⁶²

Besides the three Vedas, there are also mentioned in several works of the period various other subjects of study which may here be noticed.

1. *Anuśāsana*,⁶³ which, according to Sāyana, is the name given to the six *Vedāṅgas*, viz., (a), Phonetics (*Śikṣā*), (b) Ritualistic knowledge (*Kalpa*), (c) Grammar (*Vyākaraṇa*), (d) Exegetics (*Nirukta*), (e) Metrics (*Chandas*), and (f) Astronomy (*Jyotiṣa*).

2. *Vidyā*⁶⁴ which, according to Sāyana means the philosophical systems of Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā etc.; but it may refer, according to Eggeling⁶⁵ to such special sciences as the *Sarpavidyā* (science of snakes),⁶⁶ or *Viśavidyā*, or (according to Geldner) to the first Brāhmaṇas.

3. *Vākovākya*, apparently some special theological discourse or discourses, similiar to (if not identical with) the numerous *Brahmodya* disputations on spiritual matters. According to Geldner, it is an essential part of *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*, the dialogue or dramatic element as distinguished from the narrative portion. In the *Chāndogya*, the term is explained by Śaṅkara as "the art of disputation" (तर्कशास्त्रम्).⁶⁷

4. *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*.⁶⁸ Both are first mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*.⁶⁹ *Itihāsa* singly is mentioned in the *Satapatha*

⁵⁹ *Brhad*; iv. 3.33; *Taitt. Ār.*, iv. 8

⁶⁰ *Sat. Br.*, i. 1. 4 2 3, ii. 6.4.2-7, iv. 67, 12; v. 5.5.9; vi. 3 1 10.11.20, x 5.2, 12; xi. 5 4.18; xii. 3.3.2, etc.

⁶¹ *Kāthaka Saṁh.*, xxxvii. 7.

⁶² *Taitt. Br.*, ii. 7.1.2.

⁶³ *Sat. Br.*, xi. 5.6.8.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Sat. Br.*, pt. v, 8. B. E., xlv, p. 98, n. 2.

⁶⁶ Mentioned in xii. 4.3.9.

⁶⁷ *Sat. Br.*, iv. 6.9.20; xi. 5.6.8, 7, 5; *Chānd.*, vii. 1. 2. 4; 2. 1; 7. 1; Sāyana refers as an example of such dialogue to the one between Uddālaka Āruṇi and Svaidāyana Gautama in *Sat. Br.* xi. 4.1.4.

⁶⁸ See *Vedic Index*, i. 76-77.

⁶⁹ xv. 6.4.

Brāhmaṇa,⁷⁰ and the *Jaiminīya*,⁷¹ *Bṛhadāranyaka*⁷² and *Chāndogya*⁷³ *Upaniṣads*. In the last named it makes with the *Purāṇa* "the fifth Veda", while the *Śatapatha* in one passage⁷⁴ identifies both with the Veda. The distinction between the two is not clear—*Sāyana*, as well as *Śaṅkara*, understands by *purāṇa* the cosmological myths or accounts such as "In the beginning this universe was nothing but water," etc., and by *Itihāsa* stories of old heroes and heroines (पुरातनपुरुषवृत्तान्त) like the story of Purūravas and Urvaśī. *Yaska*⁷⁵ knows only *Itihāsa* and interprets *aitihāsika*⁷⁶ as one who interprets the *Rgveda* by seeing in it legends where others see myths. Both, as separate subjects, were probably known to Patañjali.⁷⁷

5. *Ākhyāna*. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* we have the *Saunahṣepa-ākhyāna* related at the *rajasūya* (vii. 18.10) and also the *ākhyāna-vids* who tell the *Sauparna* legend (iii. 25. 1) which is called a *vyākhyāna* in the *Śatapatha* (iii. 6. 2. 7). Stories used at the *aśvamedha* during the year of the horse's wandering belong to the series called cyclic (*pari-plavam*).

6. *Anvākhyāna*, literally "after-story", and hence supplementary narrative. In two of the passages where the word has been used in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁷⁸ it merely indicates the subsequent portion of the book; while in a third passage⁷⁹ it is distinguished from *Itihāsa* proper.

7. *Anuvyākhyāna* (or glosses) is a species of writing referred to in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*,⁸⁰ which *Śaṅkara* interprets as "explanation of the *mantras*."

⁷⁰ xiii. 4.3.12.13; and, as compounded, in xi. 5.6.8; 7.9.

⁷¹ i. 53.

⁷² ii. 4.10, iv. 1.2; v. 11.

⁷³ iii. 4. 1-2, vii. 1.2.4; 2.1; 7.1

⁷⁴ xiii. 4.3.12.13.

⁷⁵ *Nirukta*, ii. 10. 24; iv. 6; x. 26; xii. 10

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, ii. 16; xii. 1.

⁷⁷ *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, iv. 2.60 and *Mahābhāṣya* ii. 284. *Purāṇa* according to *Śaṅkara* (on *Bṛhad.*, ii. 4.10) means cosmogonies (making one of the five traditional elements of the later *Purāṇas*), while *Itihāsa* means legends.

⁷⁸ vi. 5.2.22; 6.4.7.

⁷⁹ xi. 1.6.9.

⁸⁰ ii. 4.10; iv. 1.2; 5.11.

8. *Vyākhyāna* is used in the sense of "commentary" (व्याख्यानः) in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*⁸¹ and in some passages of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁸² but in another passage of the latter,⁸³ it means only a "narrative," viz. that of the dispute of Kadrū and Suparṇī. Śaṅkara connects it with *sūtras* and *Anuśākhyaṇa* with *mantras* or *ślokas*.

9. *Gāthā*, a R̥gvedic term⁸⁴ meaning "song or verse", is in one place⁸⁵ classed with *nārāśamsī* and *raibhi*. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*⁸⁶ regards it as a form of verse with *R̥k*, *Kumbyā*, while the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*⁸⁷ regards *R̥k* as divine and *Gāthā* as human. Several *Gāthās* epitomizing the sacrifices of famous kings are preserved in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁸⁸ some of which are of the nature of *dānastutis*⁸⁹ or praises for gifts, like *nārāśamsī* verses as defined in the *Bṛhaddevatā* (iii. 154). Sāyaṇa⁹⁰ identifies the two but refers to the other view that *Gāthās* are verses like that about "the great snake driven from the lake" (*Śat. Br.*, xi. 5.5.8) while *nārāśamsīs* (verses "telling about men") would be such as that regarding Janamejaya and his horses (ibid, xi. 5.5.12).

10. *Nārāśamsī*, occurs first in the *R̥gveda* (x. 85.6) and is distinguished from *Gāthā* in later works.⁹¹ The *Kāthaka Samhitā* (xiv. 5) while distinguishing the two affirms that both are false (*aṇṛtam*), while the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (i. 3. 4. 6) has the phrase "a *gāthā* celebrating men" (*nārāśamsī*).

⁸¹ ii. 4.10; iv. 1.6; 5.11

⁸² vi. 1.27.33; vii. 2.4.28.

⁸³ iii. 6.2.7.

⁸⁴ i. 43. 4 (*gāthā-pati*); i. 7. 1. (*gāthān*); i. 190. 1. (*gāthā-nī*), v. 44. 5 (*ju-gāthā*)

⁸⁵ x. 85. 6.

⁸⁶ ii. 3. 6

⁸⁷ vii. 18.

⁸⁸ xiii. 5. 4; etc

⁸⁹ xiii. 4. 2. 8.

⁹⁰ On *Śat. Br.*, xi. 5. 6. 8

⁹¹ *A. V.* xv. 6. 4, *Taitt. Sam.*, vii. 5. 11. 2; *Āit. Br.*, vi. 32; *Kauṣ. Br.*, xxx. 5; *Kātha. Sakh.*, v. 5. 2; *Taitt. Ār.*, ii. 10; etc.

11. *Brāhmaṇa*, "religious explanation"⁹² is the title of a class of books mentioned as such in the *Nirukta* (i. 15.5; ii. 36.5) and also in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (ii. 10).

12. *Kṣātra-vidyā*, the science of the ruling class is mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 1. 2.4; 2. 1; 7. 1) Śaṅkara glosses the term by *dhanur-veda*, the science of the bow.

13. *Rāṣi*⁹³ is explained by Śaṅkara as *gaṇitam*, science of numbers or arithmetic.

14. *Nakṣatra-vidyā*, the science of the lunar mansions, i.e. astronomy, is mentioned with other sciences in the *Chāndogya*⁹⁴ which Śaṅkara explains as *Jotiṣam*.

15. *Bhūta-vidyā*. Macdonell takes it as the science of creatures that trouble men and of the means of warding them off, and hence it may be "demonology". It is also one of the sciences mentioned in the *Chāndogya*.⁹⁵ Śaṅkara explains it as *bhūta-tantram*, literally, "the science of life". Ranga Rāmānuja, however, takes it as "the art of controlling" (वशिकरणविद्या). We may note in this connection the art termed *māyā* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 4.3.11), which corresponds to the *asura-vidyā* or *indrajālavidyā*, magic art or trickery, manipulated by sleight of hand, *angulinyāsarūpam* (according to the commentator) of the *Śāṅkhāyana* (x. 7) and *Āśvalāyana* (xiii. 4.3.11.) *Śrauta Sūtras*.

16. *Sarpa-vidyā*, the science of snakes, is mentioned in the *Chāndogya* as well as the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xiii. 4.3.9) by which the commentator on the *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtras* (x. 7.5) understands the *Kāśyapīya* and other treatises (*tantra*) on venoms. That it was a well-developed science is evident from the fact that a section (*parva*) of

⁹² *At Br.*, i. 25. 15; iii. 4. 5. 8, vi. 25. 1, etc.; *Taitt. Saṁh.*, iii. 1. 9. 5, 5. 2. 1; *Śat. Br.*, iii. 2. 4. 1; etc.

⁹³ *Chānd.*, vii. 1. 2. 4. etc

⁹⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁹⁵ *Loc. cit.*

it is required to be recited. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* has the form *Sarpa-veda*. Śaṅkara explains it as *Gārūda-vidyā*.

17. *Atharvāṅgīrasa* is the collective name of the *Atharva Veda* in some of the *Brāhmaṇas*.⁸⁶ The term occurs once in the *Atharvaveda* itself (x. 7. 20). The first part of the name probably refers to the auspicious practices of the Veda (*bheṣajāni*)⁸⁷ and the second to its hostile witch-craft (*yātu*⁸⁸ or *abhicāra*⁸⁹) associated respectively with the two mythic personages, Bhiṣaj Atharvan and Ghora Āngīrasa.

18. *Daiva* appears in the list of sciences in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (in the passages cited above) where Śaṅkara explains it as *utpāta-jñāna*, the knowledge of portents.

19. *Nidhi* also appears in the list of sciences in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and is taken by Śaṅkara to mean *mahākālādi-nidhi-sāstram* and by Ranga Rāmānuja as *nidhi-darśanopāya-sāstram*, which is probably some sort of science of divination.

20. *Pitrya*, appears in the *Chāndogya* list of sciences and is taken by Śaṅkara to mean rituals so far as they concern worship of the manes (*Śrāddha-kalpa*).

21. *Sūtra* (or prose formulae), used in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (ii. 4. 10; iv. 1. 6; 5. 11) in the sense of a book of rules for the guidance of sacrifices and other ritual.

22. *Upaniṣad*, as a class of literature, is mentioned first in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* (ii. 4. 10; iv. 1. 2; 5. 11) some of the sections of the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* also end with the words *ityupaniṣad*, while the *Aitareya Āranyaka* (iii. 1. 1) commences its third part with the title, "The Upaniṣad of the *Samhitā*", which also occurs in the *Sāṅkhāyana Āranyaka* (vii. 2).

⁸⁶ *Taitt. Br.*, iii. 12. 8. 2; *Śat. Br.*, xi. 5. 6. 7; *Bṛhad. Up.*, ii. 4. 10; iv. 1. 2; 5. 11; *Chānd. Up.*, iii. 4. 12; *Taitt. Up.*, ii. 3. 1; *Taitt. Ār.*, ii. 9. 10.

⁸⁷ *A. V.*, xi. 6. 14.

⁸⁸ *Śat. Br.*, x. 5. 2. 20.

⁸⁹ *Kaṇṭikasūtra*, 3. 19.

23. *Sloka*, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (loc. cit.) is rendered by Śaṅkara as those *mantras* which are to be found not in the Vedas but in the *Brāhmaṇas* (*brāhmaṇaprabhavaḥ mantrāḥ*).

✓24. *The Veda of Vēḷas* (वेदानां वेदम्) in the *Chāndogya* is explained by Śaṅkara to mean “grammar of old Sanskrit”, through which the five Vedas are to be understood (वेदानां भारतपञ्चमानां¹⁰⁰ वेदं व्याकरणमिति).

✓25. *Ekāyana* in the *Chāndogya* is explained by Śaṅkara as *nīti-sāstram* or science of conduct; literally, “the only correct path (of morality)”.

✓26. *Deva-vidyā* in the *Chāndogya* is taken by Śaṅkara to mean *nirukta* or exegetics, but Ranga Rāmānuja explains it as, “the science of the worship of Gods” (देवतोपासनप्रकारविद्या).

✓27. *Brahma-vidyā* in the *Chāndogya* is explained by Śaṅkara to mean the *Vedāṅgas* of *Śikṣā* (phonetics), *Kalpa* (ceremonial) and *Chandas* (prosody).

✓28. *Devajana-vidyā*, the last in the *Chāndogya* list of subjects of study, means, according to Śaṅkara, the arts affected by the lesser Gods such as the making of perfumes,¹⁰¹ dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments and other five arts (नृत्यगीतवाद्यमित्र्यादिविज्ञानानि). Ranga Rāmānuja, however, splits up the compound into two parts, viz., *deva-vidyā* or the arts of the Gandharvas (गन्धर्वशास्त्रम्) and *jana-vidyā* or the science of medicine (आयुर्वेदः).

Besides indicating these branches of knowledge, arts and sciences, the Upaniṣads speak of the supreme or highest knowledge, technically called *parā-vidyā*, as distinguished from all other knowledge termed *aparā*, as is done in *Muṇḍaka* (i. 1. 4). (The *Muṇḍaka* defines *aparā-vidyā* (i. 1. 5), as comprising the four Vedas and the six *Vedāṅgas* or ancillary subjects, viz., phonetics, ritualistic knowledge, grammar, exegetics, metrics and astronomy) (By the *parā-vidyā*, the

¹⁰⁰ Cf. वेदानां व्याख्यानानां भारतपञ्चमानां।

¹⁰¹ नृत्यशुक्ति, which the commentator on Śaṅkara explains as रङ्गनादि रसादनम् which may mean *dyeing*

Muṇḍaka understands that knowledge through which the ultimate Reality is known.) All knowledge, *parā* or *aparā*, is opposed to ignorance or *avidyā*. It is however this *parā-vidyā* or highest knowledge which forms the real subject matter of the Upaniṣads. It is extolled as *sarva-vidyā-pratiṣṭhā*, the foundation of all arts and sciences,¹⁰² as *Vedānta*, the final and highest stage of Vedic wisdom¹⁰³ and as verily the science of sciences wherein lies implicit the knowledge of everything.¹⁰⁴ On account of the emphasis thus laid upon this particular type of knowledge, all other subjects of study are thrown into background and even branded as *avidyā*, in some of the Upaniṣads. A few citations will show clearly, how the insufficiency of even the knowledge of the Vedas and indeed of all existing knowledge is recognised in the Upaniṣads.

In the *Chāndogya* (vii. 1) Nārada acknowledges to Sanatkumāra :

“I have studied, most reverend Sir, the R̥gveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, the Atharvaveda as fourth, the epic and mythological poems as fifth Veda, grammar, necrology, arithmetic, divination, chronology, dialectics, politics, theology the doctrine of prayer, necromancy, the art of war, astronomy, snake-charming and the fine arts—these things, most reverend Sir, have I studied ; therefore am I, most reverend Sir, learned indeed in the scripture (सन्धवित्), but not learned in the *Ātman* (आत्मवित्). Yet have I heard from such as are like you that he who knows the *Ātman* vanquishes sorrow. I am in sorrow. Lead me then over, I pray, to the farther shore that lies beyond sorrows.”

Sanatkumāra said to him, “ Whatever you have studied is but words ”.

Similarly in the *Chāndogya* (v. 3. 10), *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (vi. 2) and *Kauṣītaki* (i) treating of the same topic, Śvetaketu

¹⁰² *Muṇḍa.*, i. 1. 2.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, iii. 2. 6.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 1. 3.

professes to have been taught by his father Āruni, but fails to answer the eschatological questions propounded by the King Pravahana¹⁰⁵ and returning in anger to his father reproaches him; "So then, without having really done so, you have claimed to have instructed me¹⁰⁶; it was imagination, then, when you previously declared that my instruction was complete".¹⁰⁷

Again, in the *Chāndogya* (vi. 1) it is shown that Svetaketu's "thorough" study "of all the Vedas" for full twelve years leaves him only full of conceit and confidence in his study and wisdom, but ignorant of the questions put to him by his father regarding the ONE and Self-existent, through knowing whom everything is known.

Accordingly, we find several emphatic declarations of the principle as pointed out by these examples. "Therefore, let a Brāhmaṇa, after he has done with learning wish to stand by real strength (knowledge of the Self which enables us to dispense with all other knowledge)", says the *Brhadārṇyaka* (iii. 5. 1). "He should not seek after the knowledge of the books, for that is mere weariness of the tongue", says the same Upaniṣad elsewhere (iv. 4. 21). The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (ii. 4), says, "Before whom words and thoughts recoil, not finding him" while the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* emphatically states that "Not by the Veda is the Ātman attained, nor by intellect, nor by much knowledge of books" (i. 2. 23).

In this view the *Kaṭha* (i. 2. 4-5) even regards *aparā-vidyā* as *avidyā* and emphasizes its essential inferiority and worthlessness, although the *aparā-vidyā* includes, according to the *Muṇḍaka* (i. 1. 5), the four Vedas together with the six *Vedāṅgas*.

From the same ideal standpoint and standard of knowledge *kalpa* or ritualism comes in for its special share of

¹⁰⁵ In the *Kauṣītaki*, *Citra Gāṅgāyāni*.

¹⁰⁶ *Chānd.*, v. 3. 4.

¹⁰⁷ *Brhad.*, vi. 2. 3.

condemnation.¹⁰⁰ The *Muṇḍaka* (i. 2. 7) openly brands as fools those that seek to perform mere rites and ceremonies. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (i. 4. 10) in a spirit of depreciation thinks it fit to compare those who, instead of knowing and recognising the *Ātman* as the only Reality, merely offer sacrifices to the Gods, to domestic animals, ministering to the comforts of their owners. We read there (i. 5. 16): “By sacrifice the world of the Fathers, by knowledge, the world of the Gods is gained.” In the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (iii. 2. 6), we find the following: “To what end, shall we repeat the Veda, to what end shall we sacrifice? For we sacrifice breath in speech or in breath speech.” In the later Upaniṣads, however, we find a more friendly attitude towards the sacrificial cult. In *Kaṭha* (i. 17), the performance of certain ceremonies and works leads to the “overstepping of birth and death” and to “everlasting rest”. This tendency towards reconciliation and synthesis attains its climax in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, of which the very first passage affirms that the laying of the sacrificial fires leads to a knowledge of *Brahman*, while in iv. 3, it is expressly laid down that a knowledge of the Veda, observance of caste-duties, and *āśrama*-duties are all essential to the emancipation of the natural *ātman* and its re-union with the Supreme *Ātman*.) It should be noted, however, that orthodox and traditional Brahmanical opinion does not find any real antagonism between the sacrificial cult, the scheme of practical life under the orders of caste and *āśrama* on the one hand, and the Upaniṣadic spirit of the quest of the *Brahman* on the other. The intention of the passages expressing such attitude is only to emphasize the supreme importance and worth of *parā-vidyā*.

. From the subjects of study, we now pass on to the methods of study prevailing in the period. The Upaniṣads often fall into the form of a dialogue, which shows that the method of teaching was catechetical, the method of explaining a

¹⁰⁰ For the entire evidence see Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upaniṣads*, p. 63, upon which I have freely drawn.

subject by an intelligent and graduated series of questions and answers which is associated with the great Greek teacher Socrates. The pupils asked questions,¹⁰⁹ and the teacher discoursed at length on the topics referred to him.¹¹⁰ In these discourses are found utilised all the familiar devices of oral teaching such as apt illustrations,¹¹¹ stories,¹¹² and parables.¹¹³

It should not be understood that these discourses leave nothing for the pupil to think out for himself. The need for introspection and contemplation, on his part, is never overlooked. *Manana* or cogitation, as a means of convincing oneself of the truth of what he has learnt and thus fortifying himself against possible future doubts, is specially prescribed. Even as regards the initial teaching it is usual for the preceptor to furnish only broad hints and ask the pupil to work them out fully. The most interesting instance of this method of teaching is found in the *Taittiriya Upaniṣad* (iii) where Varuṇa while instructing his son Bṛghu, contents himself with indicating only in general terms the features of the Absolute and leaves to his son the discovery by reflection of its exact content. This method of giving general hints and directions is repeated four times, and it is only on the fifth occasion that Bṛghu is able to comprehend the nature of the Absolute.

Study and teaching can however only lead to a *mediate* knowledge. For an immediate knowledge of the ultimate Truth and Reality, the pupil must depend upon himself. The whole of the experimental knowledge which Nārada has acquired is declared by Sanatkumāra as mere words when he begins his instruction. For the knowledge of *Brahman* was essentially of a different nature from that which we call "knowledge" in ordinary life. Nārada, with all his familiarity with the then conceivable branches of knowledge

¹⁰⁹ There was no lack of boldness in some of these questions; cf., *Praśna*, in. 2

¹¹⁰ e.g. in *Kena* and *Kṛthā Upaniṣads*.

¹¹¹ *Praśna*, ii.

¹¹² *Kātha*

¹¹³ *Kena*, iii.

and empirical sciences, finds himself in a condition of ignorance (*avidyā*) as regards the *Brahman*, for the knowledge of the Real cannot grow out of the unreal, of the realm of experience, which is the realm of ignorance. Thus the knowledge of the *Ātman* cannot be gained by mere speculation (*tarka*) concerning It, but only by revelation as the result of the proper degree of Self-growth. The acquisition of such knowledge, which means emancipation, is not a matter of study, but of life. It presupposes two things: (i) annihilation of all desire and (ii) annihilation of "the illusion of a manifold universe, of the consciousness of plurality." The means evolved to secure these two ends were what are popularly known as the systems of (i) *sannyāsa* and (ii) *yoga*. The former means the "casting off" from oneself of his home, possessions and family and all that stimulates desire. It thus "seeks laboriously to realise that freedom from all the ties of earth in which a deeper conception of life in other ages and countries also has recognised the supreme task of earthly existence, and will probably continue to recognise throughout all future time".¹¹⁴ The system of *sannyāsa* as a means of attaining knowledge of the *Brahman* and emancipation is completely developed in a series of later Upaniṣads such as the *Brahma*, *Sannyāsa*, *Āruṇeya*, *Paramahansa*, etc., with which we are not concerned here for the present.

Yoga, teaches the withdrawing of the organs of sense, from their objects and concentrating them on the Inner Self, endeavours to shake itself free from the world of plurality and to secure union with the *Ātman*.¹¹⁵

In post-Vedic times the practice of *Yoga* was developed into a formal system with its own text-book, the *sūtras* of Patañjali. Its first beginnings are however shown in *Kaṭha* (iii. and vi), *Śvetāśvatara* (ii) and *Maitrāyaṇa* (vi). The system implies the following eight members (*aṅgas*) or

¹¹⁴ Deussen, op. cit.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

external practices: (1) *yama* or discipline consisting in abstinence from doing injury, honesty, chastity, poverty, (2) *niyama* or self-restraint (purity, contentment, asceticism, study and devotion), (3) *āsana*, sitting (in the right place and in the correct bodily attitude), (4) *prāṇāyāma*¹¹⁶ regulation of the breath, (5) *pratyāhāra*, withdrawal of the senses from their objects,¹¹⁷ (6) *dhāraṇā*, concentration of the attention,¹¹⁸ (7) *dhyaṇam*, meditation and (8) *samādhi*, absorption.

As has been already indicated, both the systems are a perfectly intelligible consequence of the doctrine of the Upaniṣads according to which the highest end is contained in the knowledge of self-identity with the *Ātman*. As means to the attainment of that end, we must purposely "dissolve the ties that bind to the illusory world of phenomena" (implied by *sannyāsa*) and practise self-concentration (*yoga*). Thus arose two remarkable and characteristic institutions of Indian culture through which emancipation was sought to be attained and expedited by processes and disciplines invented by the spiritual genius of the people. The first seeks by calculated methods to annihilate desire and the second the consciousness of plurality.¹¹⁹

We thus see that the instruction of the teacher is as necessary for Upaniṣadic studies as the self-exertion (*abhyāsa*) of the student in developing a spirit of self-sacrificing asceticism (what Patañjali calls *vairāgya*) and the power of self-concentration in the pursuit of knowledge (Patañjali's *yoga*). Accordingly, we frequently find the striking feature constantly recurring in the Upaniṣads that a teacher refuses to impart any instruction to a pupil until he proves to his satisfaction his competence, mental and moral, to receive the instruction, especially when that instruction is connected

¹¹⁶ *Bṛhad.*, i. 5, 23.

¹¹⁷ *Chānd.*, viii. 15.

¹¹⁸ *Kaṭha*, ii. 6. 10-11.

¹¹⁹ In treating of this topic I have largely followed Deussen's truly Indian presentation and have in places to adopt his most appropriate expressions.

with the highest truths of life. The typical instance of this kind of pupil is Naciketas in the *Kaṭha* approaching Yama for instruction on the nature of the soul and its destiny when Yama first satisfies himself as to his sincerity and zeal in the pursuit of truth by offering him the strongest temptations that might divert him from his end,—“sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold and horses, sovereignty of the wide abode of the earth, fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments and control over death”. Naciketas answers like a true *sannyāsin*: “Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself. No man can be made happy by wealth.” Then Yama ultimately is compelled to admit: “I believe Naciketas to be one who desires knowledge, for even many pleasures did not tear him away.” Indra deals similarly with Pratardana by asking him to choose a boon, but Pratardana is wise enough to leave the choice to Indra.¹²⁰ King Janasruti Pautrāyaṇa similarly approaches Raikva for instruction with 600 cows, a necklace and a carriage with mules, whereupon Raikva answers: “Fie, necklace and carriage be thine, O Sūdra, together with the cows”.¹²¹ Satyakāma Jābāla did not impart instruction to Upakośala Kāmalayana even after his tending his fires for twelve years.¹²² Pravāhana, approached by Āruṇi for instruction, says to him: “Stay with me sometime”.¹²³ Similar is the treatment meted out by Prajāpati to Indra and Vairocana¹²⁴ and by Yājñavalkya to Janaka¹²⁵ and by Śākāyanya to King Bṛhadratha.¹²⁶ All these cases but emphasise the pupil's own efforts along with those of his teacher as factors in education. The Upaniṣadic teacher

¹²⁰ *Kaus*, iii 1

¹²¹ *Chānd*, iv. 2.

¹²² *Ibid*, iv. 10 2

¹²³ *Ibid*, v. 3. 7; *Bṛhad*, vi 2 6

¹²⁴ *Chānd*., viii. 8. 4.

¹²⁵ *Bṛhad*., iv. 3 1

¹²⁶ *Mastrā*., i, 2

imposed exacting moral and mental tests for admission of pupils: he refused to work with inferior and unsuitable material. Nārada is admitted as a pupil by Sanatkumāra when he has mastered all the arts and sciences of his times by which he qualified himself for the knowledge that was above the empirical and experimental.

Instruction was derived not merely from the regular teachers settled in their homes of learning where they admitted their pupils, but also from other sources. Such for instance were the *carakas*¹²⁷ or wandering students who, though not normally competent as teachers, are yet regarded as possible sources of popular enlightenment by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (iv. 2. 4. 1). This institution of peripatetic teachers was thus another useful agency for the spread of learning in the country. They were the real educators of thought. These bands of wandering scholars went through the country—the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* refers to one such band wandering as far north as the land of the Madras (iii. 3. 1. 7. 1)—and engaged in disputes and discussions in which prizes were staked by the parties. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 4. 1 f.) Uddālaka Āruṇi, a Kuru-Pañcāla Brāhmaṇa, goes north where he offers a gold coin as a prize “for the sake of calling out the timid to a disputation”. Seized with fear the Brāhmaṇas of the northern people challenged him to a disputation on spiritual matters with Svaidāyana, i.e. Śaunaka, as their champion. In the end Uddālaka finds himself unable to answer the questions put to him by Śaunaka, so he “gave up to him the gold coin”, and became his pupil to study those questions. Such discussions were also encouraged and organised by the more intellectual and spiritually-minded kings. Thus in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi 6. 2. 1 f.; 3. 1; also

¹²⁷ According to Śaṅkara they were called *Carakas* because they were observing (*√car*) a vow for the sake of learning. The word occurs in one of the inscriptions of Uṇṇadāta at Nāsik—*caraka paṇḍityaḥ*—where there is a reference to Brahmanical schools at four places named in the record (see *Ind. Ant.*, 1883, p. 30).

Brhad., iv. 1. 1-9, 20. 29) Janaka, King of Videha, having come across some travelling Brāhmaṇas, arranges a discussion with them on the *agnihotra* as a result of which he makes liberal gifts to the most successful of the disputants. Indeed, the literary patronage of Janaka was on such a scale that it made his contemporary, Ajātaśatru, King of Kāśī, acknowledge in disappointment that he could hardly find any available learned man in the country whom he could patronise, for all learned men were running to the Court of Janaka and settling there.¹²⁸ Again, discussion with Yājñavalkya was the chief means adopted by Janaka for his education in spiritual lore at the conclusion of which he says to his teacher: "Sir, I give you the Videhas, and also myself, to be together your slaves".¹²⁹ Further examples of such learned debates are those between Yājñavalkya and Gārgī Vācaknavī,¹³⁰ and between him and Vidagdha Śākalya.¹³¹

¹²⁸ *Brhad.*, ii 1. 1.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, iv 4. 23

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, iii 8.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, iii 9, *Śat B*, xi. 6 3. 3.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO TANTRA PHILOSOPHY.¹

DR. SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA, M.A., PH.D.,
Professor of Sanskrit, Chittagong College, Chittagong.

The word *Tantra* has been derived in the *Kāśika-vṛtti* in connection with the rule तितुलतपसिसुसरकसेषुच (viii. 2. 9.) in the root तन् to spread, by the षीष्वादिक् rule सर्वधातुभ्यः इष् with the addition of the suffix इष्. Vācaspati, Ānandagiri and vindānanda however, derive the word from the root तन्नि in the sense of व्युत्पादन, origination, or knowledge. In *ṇapāṭha* however तन्नि has the same meaning as तन्, to spread, and it is probable that the former root is a modification of the latter. The meaning व्युत्पादन is also probably derived by broadening the general sense of विस्तार which is the meaning of the root तन्. It is natural therefore to expect that the term *tantra* should be used to denote any kind of elaboration generally, and in conformity with such an expectation we find that the word is used in diverse meanings such as ceremonies, rites, rituals, doctrine, theory, science, or any scientific work and the like. The works on Sāṅkhya Philosophy were known as *Śaṣṭi Tantra Śāstra* and Śaṅkara also in explaining the *Brahma Sūtra*, स्मृत्यनवकाय दोषप्रसङ्ग इति चेत् नान्यस्मृत्यनवकायदोषप्रसङ्गात्, speaks of Sāṅkhya as a *Tantra* written by a great sage स्मृतिव्रतन्त्राख्या परमर्षिप्रणीता. Similarly in *Mahābhārata* (xiii. 7663), we read न्यायतन्त्राख्यनेकानि तैस्तैरुक्तानि वादिभिः. So also we hear of a *Dharmatantra*, as in ससर्ज धर्मतन्त्राणि पूर्वोत्पन्नः प्रजापतिः; of a *Brahmatantra* as in ब्रह्मतन्त्रं निषेविभिः (*Harivamśa*, 12019); of a *Yogutantra* as in यतयोः योगतन्त्रेषु यान् सुवन्ति द्विजातयः; of the

¹ Read at a meeting of the Calcutta Philosophical Society.

Āyurveda-tantra as in अष्टासुर्वेदतन्त्रेषु (*Suśruta*, I. 3. 13) and also in a general way as in वेदे च तन्त्रे च ते एव कोविदाः (*Bhāgavata*), or as in तेन च शिष्योपशिक्षदारेव लोके बहुलोज्जतं तन्त्रम्.

It is indeed needless to multiply examples of this kind to show that the word *Tantra* had a very wide latitude of meaning and was used loosely to denote any kind of scientific or philosophic literature which was more modern than the Vedic literature. Later on, however, the term *Tantra* was generally used in an exclusive sense to denote a body of writings comprehending the whole culture of a certain epoch in diverse directions such as religion, ritual, domestic rites, law, medicine, magic and so forth.

The special characteristic of the last mentioned literature which goes by the name of *Tantra* is this that it has preserved within itself all the important results of Indian culture which preceded it from the time of the Vedas and has attempted to reconcile them all in its own way. The *Karmakāṇḍa* of the Vedas, the *Mīmāṃsā*, the *Vedānta*, the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Yoga*, the *Vaiṣṇava* *Upaniṣads*, the *Śaiva* and *Sūfī* *Upaniṣads*, and

for many generations. Some of the peculiarities of its dogmas and doctrines may indeed appear very strange to many but those who have grasped the philosophy of this movement cannot but be struck with its bold and original nature. In these days of scepticism and rationalism there is no wonder it often becomes difficult for us to appreciate the value of many of its dogmas (some of which would often appear so shocking to us) or to concede to some of its philosophical theories or methods of religious practice, but to a student who can rise above his own individual likes and dislikes, it is bound to throw new light and reveal many missing links in the history of the development of the religious practices of India.

emphasised, as in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* or the *Gandharva Tantra* we may be disposed to call it monistic, but if we look at the dualism on the *sādhana* side we may be tempted to call it dualistic or pluralistic just as we please. Thus the *Kulārṇava* says :—

अद्वैतं केचिदिच्छन्ति द्वैतमिच्छन्ति चापरे ।

मम तत्त्वं विजानन्तो द्वैताद्वैतविवर्जितम् ॥

“Some conceive my reality as being one, others conceive it as dual, whereas the wise know it to be neither dual nor one.”

The difficulty of this apparently dualistic position was removed in a real philosophic way. Thus first we find that *Śiva* is *prakāśa*, pure illumination, or abstract self-shining thought and *Śakti* is *vimarśa* or the inherent activity of thought. Thought and its inherent activity cannot be viewed as distinct from one another as the one is involved in the notion of the other. The conception of the nature of thought involves its own activity. That which appears in its abstraction as pure *prakāśa* in one aspect or moment appears in its other aspect as *vimarśa* at another moment. The conception of this notion may therefore be explained after the *Sāṅkhya* attempt of the identification of *Mahat* or *Buddhi* with *Puruṣa*. There we read that the *Mahat* or *Buddhi* as it resembles the pure character of the *Puruṣa* can stand in such a relation to it that the *prakāśa* is pure and *Mahat*, being *sattvagunamaya*, is also pure and, as such, they mutually reflect each other and are identified. The two are however different and this illusory identification is the cause of the production of the world-order. But here we find that *prakāśa* is imaged in *vimarśa* which stands as a reflector which reflects the real nature of the *prakāśa*. *Prakāśa* comes to know of its own true nature only when it perceives itself as reflected through its *kriyā-śakti* or *vimarśa*. Abstract thought as such cannot posit its true nature. It is only when it returns back to itself through its own movement *kriyā* or

vimarṣa that it can posit itself and manifest itself as the "Egohood". The first point is the point of pure illumination, the second is the point of the *vimarṣa* and the third point is the unity of them both, the return of the *prakāśa* through *vimarṣa* as the "Egohood". The first point in *Tantra* is called the "white" *bindu*, the second "red" and the third "black". The conception of this action of unification is only that of differentiation in the integrated. The One unperturbed whole holds within itself the point of *prakāśa*, *vimarṣa* and their unification as the "Egohood". This unperturbed whole is called in the *Tantra* the *Mahābindu*. In the *Vedānta* also the Ego, *Ahaṁ*, springs out of the unification of *Brahman* with *Māyā*. But there *Māyā* is conceived as unreal and so the unity is also unreal, but here the *vimarṣa* is conceived as being involved in the reality of the *prakāśa*, ⁱⁿ through which the *prakāśa* reflects itself or returns back ^{it} has if and realises itself as the Ego. In analogy with the r. ⁱⁿ *prapa-sakti* of *Māyā* here also we find the *Āvaraṇa-devatās*, but these are conceived here as the real transformations of the *Śakti* in its process of self-development. It is therefore a synthesis of the dualistic and the monistic and the essence of this synthesis is the subsumption of the conceptual system of thought in the *Ēlan*, *Śakti* or *Spanda*. As all the three phenomena of *suṣupti* (dreamless sleep), *svapna* (dream), and *jāgrat* (awakened state of consciousness) form together an important illustration round which the Vedantic conceptions, such as the resolution of the colourless *Brahman* into the manifold without and the like, have collected themselves, therefore it is that we find that the phenomena of the production of sound occupy an extremely important position in the development of the Tantric ideals. How the formless is endowed with millions of names and forms, how the colourless one could be resolved into the many is indeed the vital question in all philosophy. The conceptual or the philosophical difficulty of the position is enhanced by the fact that in our ordinary sphere of concrete

life we do not generally find any such thing with which we can associate or compare it in order to visualise the philosophic position for common comprehension. This was also so necessary in India, where philosophy was not regarded as a matter for study only but the highest reality of life, the goal of realisation for each and every individual from the lowest peasant to the highest monarch. The *Vedānta* therefore pointed out the analogy of *susupti* (dreamless sleep) resolving itself into the *jāgrat*, and other illustrations such as the reflection of the sun in the water etc., to explain the identification of the *Brahman* and *Māyā*. The *Sāṅkhya* offered the illustration of the reflection of the *Jaba* flower on a crystal, of a prince brought up in the house of a *cāṇḍāla* and the like to give a practical help for an easy comprehension of the difficult points of the theory.

But there was another analogy which had hitherto been imperfectly utilised and which was developed and elaborated in all its details for the first time in the *Tantra* and served to symbolise the philosophical position of the *Tantra*. I refer to the production of sound.

We know that at the very dawn of philosophic speculation in India, in the *Mīmāṃsā* school of thought, *śabda* or sound was regarded as eternal. To take a brief review of the *Mīmāṃsā* doctrine of sound, we see first that sound with them was always in the form of the letters of the alphabet which when perceived by the ear goes by the name of sound. All sounds must be in the shape of some letter or other. There is nothing like indistinct or confused sound or mere *dhvani*. The word is also not in any way different from the letters which compose it. In the perception of a word the diverse perceptions of the letters owing to their close proximity coalesce and give us the notions of one perception though it is really but the combination of the many sounds. The idea of the word however should be regarded as *one*, as it admits of the denotation of one thing only. The word is

nothing apart from the letters. The order of sequence belongs not to the letters but to the sounds, and through these sounds it is imposed upon the letters, that are manifested by the sounds. It is therefore that the letters alone can be held as being expressive.

The *artha* of the word is that which is denoted or expressed by it. The denotativeness of words is absolutely independent of human agency and belongs to the words by their very nature. When we do not understand the meaning of a word we cannot assume that the word is not denotative. On the other hand, it is to be supposed that there is some peculiar power which is absent in *us*, on account of which the denotation of the meaning has not been revealed to us. The word denotes a meaning, but in order to understand it, it is presupposed that we should have a knowledge of it. So the power of the hearer lies in this that he should have the knowledge of the fact that the word is expressive of such and such a meaning. Thus the expressiveness of the word is something that belongs to it by its very nature independent of any human agency.

Again the denotative potency of a word has no beginning in time and is therefore as eternal as the word itself. The word itself has no beginning for the simple reason that the thing it denotes has also no beginning, for the world itself with them had no beginning. All men have been applying the same names to the same things from time immemorial. So the denotations of common words must be eternal and not conventional.

The words themselves are also eternal but the reason of their not being present to our consciousness is this that it requires some auxiliary agent to make them cognisable by our consciousness. This agent is the effort of the man in pronouncing a word. This effort produces an effect through intermediate stages on the auditory organ of the hearer and manifests or reveals the word already in existence. The

several moments or stages in the physiological processes of speech may thus be shown. (1) The speaker puts forth an effort. (2) This effort brings the soul in contact with the air enclosed in the lungs. (3) In obedience to the impulse imparted by the effort the air rises upwards. (4) In its upward progress it comes into contact with the vocal chords lying about the various regions of the body. (5) These contacts change the character of the air to a certain extent. (6) On issuing from the mouth the air passes onwards and reaches the ear of the persons. (7) On reaching the ear it produces a certain change which conduces to make it audible or manifest it. Though there are so many different stages in the process of the manifestations of the sound, the word has no cause bringing it into existence and thus it has the same eternality that belongs to *Ākāśa*.

If we remember these main views of the *Mīmāṃsakas* on sound it will be easier for us to comprehend how and with what modifications the *Tantra* grafted this on their composite of *Sāṅkhya-Vedānta* doctrine and the elaborate method of their religious practices. (The *Tantra* assumes that the movement which has produced the world shows itself or is represented in us in miniature in the production of the sound. The process of the production of the sound is the epitome of the notion as it were of the cosmic process of creation.) The same process which underlies the cosmic creation manifests itself in us in every case of the productions of sound, so that the genesis of sound is not to be taken as imaginary but a real symbol of the creative process. The *Mīmāṃsakas* regarded *śabda* and *artha* as mere inanimate or *acetana*. So there was the eternality without any notion; but the *Tantra* asserted that it is the spirit or intelligence which realises itself as the *śabda* and *artha*, mind and matter. (Thus *Sarada* says :

निश्चयानात् परादिन्दोरव्यक्ताकारबोधवत् ।
यन्मन्त्रोति तत् प्राहुः सर्वानिमविधारदाः ॥

शब्दब्रह्मेति शब्दार्थं शब्दमित्यपरे जगुः ।
 न हि तेषां तयोः सिद्धिः जडत्वादुभयोरपि ॥
 चैतन्यं सर्वभूतानां शब्दब्रह्मेति मे मतिः ।
 तत् प्राप्य कुण्डलीरूपं प्राणिनां देहमध्वगम् ।
 वर्षाब्जनाविर्भवति गन्धपद्मविनिदतः ॥

"When 'the ultimate *bindu* splits itself' there is an unmanifested sound of the Ego. It is this that is called *Sabda-Brahma* by those that are versed in all the *Āgamas*. Others would also call it *Sabda-Brahma*, *Śabdārtha* or *Śabda* but with them such a position is not tenable as with them both *śabda* and *artha* are inanimate. It is the underlying consciousness of all being that I would call *Śabda-Brahma*. It is this which reveals itself as the letters of the alphabets in diverse order as prose and verse at that centre of the living bodies known as *Kuṇḍalī*."

Sabda here is not a mere *vyāpāra* (movement), or a *śakti*, but its concept is as mystic as the concept of *Īśvara*. It contains within itself the three moments of *jñāna* (thought), *icchā* (will) and *kriyā* (movement) in one concept. It is *Śiva* and *Śakti* as One. There is the *śabda-sṛṣṭi*, the creation of the exterior order of the world and the constitution of the human body with its nerves and nerve centres. No one of them is the cause of the other. But all the three are the manifestations of the same movement of the One. So it is that we find that the word *śabdārtha-sṛṣṭi* is used to denote the cosmic creation from the formless One as the movement in both the cases is one and the same.

(In the *Tantra* phraseology the *nirguṇa* (formless) *Brahman* is called *Niṣkala-Śiva* and in its aspect as combined with *Śakti* it is called as *Sakāla-Śiva*. Now *Śakti* in its aspect as one with the formless *Śiva* is called the *Para-bindu* or the *Karaṇa-bindu*. From this *Karaṇa-bindu* comes the *Kārya-bindu* which represents the *Kārya-Śiva* and *Kārya-Śakti*. Their unity, the *Śiva-Śakti-mithuna-piṇḍa* is the *Aham*. To these three moments may be traced, W 1,

Thought, and Movement. The *Śiva* and *Śakti*, however, should not be taken in reality as representing the male and the female as is generally supposed; for they are styled male and female only to please the popular imagination, as a mere linguistic expression. Thus the *Gandharva Tantra* says:—

शक्तिर्महेश्वरो ब्रह्मस्यसुखार्थवाचकाः ।

स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकी भेदः शब्दतो न परमार्थतः ॥

“*Śakti*, *Maheśvara* and *Brahman* all three signify the same meaning. Their distinction as male, female or neuter is merely due to linguistic usage not to any intrinsic difference.”

These three are also called *Raudri*, *Jayesthā* and *Vāmā*; the fire, moon, and sun. The *bindu* and *bija* are also characterised as the *Sita-bindu* and the *Śoṇa-bindu* probably to suggest the comparison of the seed and the ovum. That the *Sakala-Śiva* springs from the *Niṣkala-Śiva*, who is the form of pure *caitanya*, as undistinguished from its other aspect as *Śakti* or the principle of movement, shows that it is Thought with its inherent movement, which posits itself as the *Sakala-Śiva* as the Unity of the three moments of *jñāna*, *icchā* and *kriyā*. This movement on one side produces the exterior world order as composed of the different modifications of the five *bhūtas* and on the other hand the mental order of thought as symbolised by *śabda*, and the body with its net of nerves and nerve-centres. This unity of the three *bindus* the interpenetration of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa* is spoken as the *Kāmakalā*, the great *Tripurasundarī*. The meaning of the word *Kāmakalā* is described in the *Kāmakalā-vilāsa* as:—

काम्यते, अभिसञ्चते स्वात्मत्वेन परमार्थमहङ्गिः योगिभिः इति कामः, तच्च हेतुः कामनीयतया इति । कामनीयत्वं स्पष्टनीयत्वं । कला विमर्शशक्तिः, दहनी शक्तिः, इन्दुः चन्द्रः तावेव आकारौ यदोबिन्दोः तौ दहनेन्दुविमर्शौ बिन्दू । अयमर्थः—अभिव्यक्तिरूपिणी विमर्शशक्तिः तदुभयभेदकानिम्बराविनाभूता महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी बिन्दुसमष्टिरूपा कामकला इत्युच्यते, सैव उपास्यतया सर्वार्थमेषु उद्योभ्यते ।

“Desired as the Self by the Yogis and therefore called *Kāma* because He alone is desirable. *Kalā* means thought-movement of the form of the unity of the two *bindus*, fire and moon, i.e. the thought-movement of the form of fire and moon and identical with the *Kāmeśvara*. It is also called the *Mahātripurasundarī*, the unity of the *bindus* called the *Kāmakalā*, and it is She who is spoken of as the object of worship in all the *āgamas*.”

Or as in another place as :

कामः प्रकाशकसमावः परमशिवः । कला—प्रखिलवाचीरूपा परमा-
ह्वारमया विमर्शविद्यया । एतदुभयात्मकत्वं नाम स्वाभाविकपरिपूर्णा-
भावशक्तित्वात् ।

Kāma means the homogeneous nature of our illumination the *Parama-Siva*. *Kalā* means the thought-activity as the “Egohood” or the *śabda*. The unity of these two is the realisation of the Ego in its fullness: *Kāmakalāvīlāsa* therefore denotes the *vilāsa* or the manifestation of this *tatva* of *Kāmakalā* the unity of *Śiva* and *Śakti*.

Now the *śabda* here is taken in the fashion of the *Mīmāṃsakas* as being made up of *varṇas*. The four stages of this *śabda* are (1) *para*, (2) *paśyanti*, (3) *madhyama* and (4) *vaikhari*. These four stages of the genesis of sounds which correspond with the four stages of the development of the formless thought into the concrete idea also represent the four stages in the process of receiving a sound. The materialisation of the formless thought into the sound and the spiritualisation of the sound into the idea both pass through the same identical stages. These four stages of the production of sounds, the abstract and the formless moment and the moments of will, ideation and delivery may well be compared with the *Mīmāṃsā* genesis of sound which we have stated before.

Now we have seen that the *śabdārtha* symbolises the notion of the cosmic development. In connection with this we may notice that the *Tantra* view regarded that the human

body and mind, the microcosm, was an exact parallel or counterpart of the exterior world or the macrocosm. It may not be out of place here to notice that the medical schools had also emphasised the same idea. Thus we notice that Caraka says that the evolution and the nature of man resembles the evolution of the universe. All kinds of concrete existences in the universe find their exact parallels and counterparts in the human system. Caraka further says that the courses of production, growth, decay and destruction of the universe and of man are exactly the same. Thus the Universe is made up of the six *dhātus* and so is man; the process of generation, production and evolution, of the universe and of man is also the same. The same law of *pariṇāma* which guides the universe guides also the evolution of man. The law of decay and destruction are also the same. For as all evolution is the product of liberation of energy and redintegration of the atoms of the five elements followed by more and more differentiated and determinate character of the whole, so all destruction is the product of liberation of *rajas* or energy or disintegration of parts followed by more and more undifferentiated and indeterminate character of the whole.

But the main interest of *Tantra* not being of such a purely scientific character as this, it went much further to establish the parallelism into elaborate details in order to help the Yogi to narrow the field of his concentration to himself alone so that during his practice or *sādhana* he may find that he is a complete solar system in himself, a perfect and finished universe. This was naturally calculated to help him to concentrate his attention on himself, for when he has known himself he has known the universe.

They symbolised different parts of the body as sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers etc., and mapped out the whole body according to the world outside. But the most important point in his connection is this that the creative force of the universe which, as we have already found, was identified as

the *varṇas* or letters, was placed in diverse parts of the body. This creative power, the mother of the universe, in its aspect as being identified with the *varṇas* or letters was called *Mātrkā*. Her self was formed of the fifty letters from अ to ह. Thus we read in the *Phetkarinī Tantra*:—पञ्चाशदक्षरपामा मातृका परमेश्वरी. From the *brahmarandhra* or the hole of *Brahman* (fontanelle) to the *mūlādhāra* runs the *brahmadanda* (spinal chord). Between these two extremities of the “rod of *Brahman*” there are several stations called *pīthas* in the *Śivasūtra*, but more usually *cakras*. Each of these *cakras* is presided over by a Goddess, *Śakti*, in the form of some *varṇas*, which have to be mastered to escape being deceived by her. There are other Goddesses presiding over other principles also. *Mātrkā* is the queen of all these. These different *Śaktis* serve to bind men to ignorance. If there should be an interval without objective cognitions, experienced or remembered, the pure consciousness without the limitation of the objective world will rise; but the *Śaktis* determine the man so steadily towards the world outside, that it is not possible for such an interval to exist and for the *caitanya* (intelligence) to shine in its true light. The *Jñāna-sankalini Tantra* also associates these *cakras* with diverse emotions.

Thus at the lower extremity we have the *ādhāra-cakra*, the sacro-coccygeal plexus, with the four branches, nine *angulis* below the solar plexus, the source of a massive pleasurable aesthesia, voluminous organic sensation of repose. An inch and a half above it, and the same below the *mehānā* is a minor centre called the *agniśikhā*. The *varṇas*, associated with the *mūlādhāra* are वं, मं, छं, and हं. The *svādīsthāna-cakra*, the sacral plexus with six branches, is concerned in the excitation of sexual feelings with the accompaniment of lassitude, stupor, cruelty, suspicion and contempt. The *varṇas* associated here are वं, मं, मं, यं, रं, हं. The *nābhi-kunḍa* forms the junction of the right and left chains, *pingalā* and *idā*, with the cerebro-spinal axis. Here

is the *manipūṛaka*, the ten branches of which are concerned in the production of sleep and thirst, and passions like jealousy, shame, fear and stupefaction. It is associated with the Varnas **हं, ठं, डं, तं, धं, दं, चं, नं, पं, फं**. The *anāhata-cakra*, with twelve *cakras* connected with the heart, is the seat of the egoistic sentiments, hope, anxiety, doubt, remorse, conceit, egosim etc. The *varṇas* associated are **कं, खं, गं, घं, ङं, चं, छं, जं, झं, ञं, टं, ठं**. The *bhāratīsthāna*, probably the junction of the spinal cord with the medulla oblongata, regulates the larynx and other organs of articulation.

The *lālana-cakra* opposite the uvula, which has twelve leaves, the tract affected in the production of ego-altruistic sentiments and affections like self-regard, pride, affection, grief, regret, respect, reverence, contentment etc. The sensory motor tract comprising two *cakras*, the *ājñā-cakra* the circle of command (over movements) with its two lobes (the cerebellum), and the *manas-cakra* the sensorium with its six lobes (five special sensory for peripherally initiated sensations and one common sensory for centrally initiated sensations as in dreams and hallucinations).

The *soma-cakra* the seat of altruistic sentiments and volitional control, e.g. compassion, gentleness, patience, renunciation, meditateness, gravity, earnestness, resolution, determination, magnanimity etc.

The *sahasrāra-cakra* (i.e. the thousand-lobed) is the upper cerebrum with its lobes and convolutions, and is the special and the highest seat of the *jīva* (soul).

To recapitulate therefore we find that the *Tantra* agreed with the *Mīmāṃsakas* that the *śabda* as well as its denotation was eternal. But this eternality with them was due to the fact that they regarded the process of the genesis of sound as being in miniature the same process which produced the cosmic creation. The creative power of the universe in all its diverse functions played exactly the same part, and existed in the same relation to one another in the *śabda* as in the universe.

Now again the *Tantra* agreed with the *Mīmāṃsā* in holding *śabda* to be of the nature of *varṇas*. They therefore naturally thought that the creative force presiding over the *śabda* must be held to be the totality of the fifty *varṇas* from अ to ह. The different *varṇas* represented and symbolised therefore the different parts or functions of the *Mātrkā* or the force as forming the essence and spirit of the totality of the *varṇas* or letters of the alphabet. These being parts of the creative power were associated with particular conative, cognitive and feeling tendencies, and were naturally also connected with corresponding physiological centres which formed the physiological data of these psychological functions. It is by virtue of these tendencies that all the phenomena of our psychosis could run on and keep us in a state of bondage. It is this phenomenal knowledge which binds us, as we find in the *Sivasūtra*, ज्ञानं बन्धः, "knowledge is bondage". Now we know that the creative force is conceived as the unity of *Śiva* and *Śakti*. The force symbolised in each of the *varṇas* being a part and parcel of the great creative mother is but in miniature the same creative force and as such must be considered as being the Unity of *Śiva* and *Śakti*, शिवशक्तिमयान् प्रादुस्तत्त्वादर्शान् मनोविष्णुः. The *varṇas* therefore severally and jointly are to be conceived as the *Mātrkā Śiva-Śakti-mithuna-piṇḍa* and *Sakala-Śiva*, for here the whole and the part have no existence as such but have the same identical reality. This is what is called the identity of the *Devatā* and the *mantra*.

We have seen before that the creative force forming the reality of the *varṇas* is the same as the creative force forming the reality of the world order. This reality however is perceived here in a very external way. Thus we find that the dependence of consonants on vowels is spoken of as the dependence on *Śiva* of *Śakti*. The consonants from क to ह are spoken of as the 25 *tattvas* of the *Sāṅkhya*, and अ, इ and उ as the *icchā*, *jñāna* and *kriyā-śakti*. The 15 *guṇas* of the five *bhūtas* (1 आकाश + 2 वायु + 3 तेज + 4 अप + 5 धिति = 15)

and also the 15 phases (*kalās*) of the moon, beginning from *pratipad* are spoken of as being represented in the *mantra* of 15 letters called the *Śrī Vidyā-pañcadaśākṣari*. These are again resolved into the corresponding *Śiva* and *Śakti*, an elaboration of which from diverse aspects is found in many of the *Tantras*, such as *Śārada-tilaka* and the like. Such an identification reminds one of the determination of the world in terms of numbers by the Pythagorean School. . .

It must however have to be confessed that the *Tantra* is not the originator of symbolising in terms of the *varṇas*, for this was first attempted in the *Āraṇyaka* period of culture, as exemplified in the *विहारोपासना* or *बोहारोपासना* and the like, into the details of which it will be unnecessary to enter. These of course have been largely elaborated into a complicated system of network in the *Tantra*, but in this the *Tantra* drew all the suggestions from the *प्रतिकोपासना* of the *Upaniṣads* and the *Āraṇyakas*. Once we understand the *varṇas* or *mantras* as centres of force forming the reality of the exterior world or *mantramaya-jagat* and the inner microcosm of man, it will be easy for us to comprehend the mystic *mantra-sādhana* which is to a great extent a synthesis of the *Yogā* method of *samādhi* with the *pratika* of the *Āraṇyaka*, on the lines of the neo-Vedantic metaphysics of the *Tantra*. In the *Yoga* we find that the mind, when concentrated on any *tattva* in such a way that the *Yogi* becomes one with it, naturally passes through its inner dynamic or *rajas* into subtler and subtler *tattvas* until it goes to *buddhi* and is finally liberated, for here the *Yogi* perceives that he is the pure *Puruṣa* and is essentially different from *Prakṛti*.

In the *Tantra*, *Yoga* is defined as the union of the *jīvātmā* and the *Paramātmā* or *Parama-Śiva*. Now the *varṇas* being of the nature of *Parama-Śiva*, i.e. *Śiva-Śaktimaya* or *Tripurasundarī*, the creative force of the universe, a concentration of the mind in such a way as to unify the *sādhaka* with it naturally helps him to pass gradually

to the supreme force, the *Tripurasundarī* or the *Paramātmā* and to identify him with Her, and thus to effect the goal of *Yoga*, the union of the *jīvātmā* and the *Paramātmā*. The doctrine of *ṣaṭcakrabheda* is also the same process for here the *jīva* in the *kuṇḍalinī* is roused up as it gradually identifies itself with different *cakras* as it gradually passes on and on to the *sahasrāra*. We have seen above that the different *cakras* are the seats of the different forces of the *Mātrkā-Śakti* and are associated with diverse passions etc. Now as the *sādhaka* identifies with each of these centres of force, the influence of these forces in binding him ceases and he passes from one centre of force to another until he identifies himself with the *Paramātmā* and is liberated. This identification of the *sādhaka* with the *mantrā* is the triple identification of *vedaṅga*, *vedya* and *vidyā*; the *sādhaka*, the *Devatā* and the *mantra*.

As in the *Yoga* so here also in the intermediate stages there come the diverse *vibhūti*s owing to the identification of the *sādhaka* with diverse *mantras* or with *mantras* in diverse groupings, for each grouping will represent a new combination of the forces.

Now the *mantras* were of the nature of force and these in various relations with one another formed different aspects or functions of the forces, which the *Tantra* tried to signify or symbolise by straight and curve lines in the form of figures, known as *yantras* or *cakras*. Nothing could stand as a better symbol of force than lines. These figures formed by the different lines of force were to a *sādhaka* the visual graphic symbols of the *śakti* or force indicated by the *mantras* with which he had to identify himself. These in the *Tantra* largely supplanted the *pratimā-upāsanā* which was in vogue from a long time past. The gods and goddesses here were but the mere visualised forms of these forces.

Mantra is not only the force of *śakti* the *sādhaka* but is also the mind or *citta*.

which unites with it. For it is the one reality—the subject and the object. So we find that *mantra* is defined in *Sivasūtra* as चित्तं मन्त्रः. Kṣemarāja in annotating upon the *Sivasūtra* says that *mantra* is not merely an aggregate of sounds but the special *cittam*. The attainment of the unity with the divinity behind a *mantra* by means of meditation.

It is said in *Vijñānottara*, “The sounds that are uttered are not in themselves *mantra*. The proud Gods and *Gandharvas* were deceived by this false notion.” It is said in *Mantra-sādhana*, “The indestructible *Śakti* is regarded as the life of the *mantras*. Devoid of it, O fair-hipped one, they are as fruitless as an autumn cloud.” The natural effort to fix permanently the energy that first rises from the desire to meditate on a *mantra* defined as above, is the means that brings about the union of the practiser of the *mantra* and the deity of the *mantra*. *Vidyā* is the consciousness of identity with the supreme. The *Vidyā-śarīra* or *Vidya*-bodied is one whose form is *vidyā*, the lord, who is the totality of sounds. His nature is the manifestation of the consciousness of being the ego of, and being identical with, the whole universe. It is said in *Mantra-sādhana*, “*Mantras* are all made of letters, these are the same as *Śakti*; *Śakti* is the same as *Matṛkā* and she is the same as *Siva*.”

Apart from this *Śāktopāya* of *sādhana* through the *mantras* and the *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇā*, *saṁādhi* in the *Yoga* fashion, there is another means of attaining salvation spoken of as being the *sambhāvopāya*. This means consists in steadily practising introspective meditation, by the effect of which there suddenly arises a flash of consciousness during the interval between the conceptual cognitive states, and the *ātmā* shines in its own light. Each individual has to experience it for himself and thus to become his own *Guru*. Once the *sādhaka** has got it, he has to stick to it. The main object of this process of *sādhana* consists in making a dive into the flowing reality of *Śakti*

and to intuit it apart from the passing concepts, which as they cannot show the reality only serve to hide it all the more from our view and must therefore be called bondage. It is this intuitive grasp of the reality by introspection and a steady fixedness in it by effort which is the secret of this *sādhana*. It is very important to note to what an important measure it anticipates the philosophy of Bergson.

So far we have inquired only how, with what effort of will, the *sādhaka* united with the *Śiva-Śakti-tattva* in knowledge. But the *Tantra* was more a practical form of worship than a system of philosophy and as such there is here an important manifestation of emotion or *bhakti* which is the essence of every mode of practical religious worship. The development of this emotion of *bhakti* and its position with regard to the development of *bhakti* among the Vaisnavas is a subject into which we cannot enter in a short introduction like this. I shall therefore only notice it in a cursory manner by two or three random quotations from *Utpala* just to show the profundity of this emotion among the Tantrikas.

अन्तर्भक्तिमत्कारणस्वामीलितेक्षवः ।

यतो मर्माग्निवायेति पूजयन् स्वां वषांश्चपि ॥

"With the eyes half closed, with the emotion of *bhakti* filling the inmost recesses, I shall be adoring myself as the Śiva though I may be worshipping but straws."

अपि सत्त्वमवज्ञावः स्वात्मोत्सासमयं जगत् ।

पश्यन् भक्तिरसामोर्गैर्भवेद्यमवियोजितः ॥

"Realising my unity with Thyself and realising my manifestation in the world as *Śiva* I shall enjoy eternally the bliss of *bhakti*."

रागादिमयमवाच्छक्ते सुठितं तद्भक्तिभावनां विना तेष्टेः ।

अस्माद्यत् रसेर्मां प्रहृषयन्ते यदा भवामि स्तनः ॥

"In this world full of passions I have fallen. Oh mother, feed and nourish me with your emotions, so that I may be fledged with wings like a bird."

भक्तिमद्वज्रितविभक्तम वज्रिण पश्येयमविफर्षं करणेः ।

शिवमयमखिलं लोकां क्रियाश्च पूजामयीः सकलाः ॥

“Intoxicated with devotion, I perceive full with all my senses that all the world is full of *Śiva* and all actions are but His adorations.”

It will thus be seen that this worship was not only a synthesis of willing and knowing in the identification of the self with *Śiva* but it was also essentially an identification of emotion or *bhakti*. Rather it was a thrill of joy which enlivened and overflowed the unity through the will and the knowledge. The reality is not the unity of *icchā*, *jñāna* and *kriyā* only, but also of bliss. It is, therefore that she is spoken of as निजसुखमयनित्यनिष्पमाकारा ।

THE SYRIAN CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN INDIA : ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

DR. G. HOWELLS, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT., B.D.,
Principal, Serampore College, Serampore.

In all the remains of Christian history, Eastern or Western, there is no more remarkable phenomenon than the ancient Syrian Church on the Malabar Coast in the native states of Travancore and Cochin and numbering at present about a million souls. The origin and early history of this Church are involved in considerable obscurity, but there is *nothing of which the Syrian Christians themselves are more certain*, than that their church was founded by the Apostle Thomas in the first century of the Christian Era.

Before proceeding to deal with the beginnings of the history of Christianity in India, some reference needs to be made to the connection alleged by some scholars to exist between the Christian Scriptures and the *Bhagavad Gītā* or "Song Celestial", a Hindu philosophical poem which appears to have been written somewhere in the neighbourhood of the first century A.D. The relation of Christianity to certain elements in the Krishna cult is also involved. The main discussion has centered round the relation of the Hindu doctrine of *bhakti*, as set forth in the *Gītā* and other Hindu writings, to the Christian doctrines of faith. Up to the time of the *Gītā* the Brahmanic religion has been mainly concerned with works of sacrifice and ceremonial purity on the one hand or metaphysical knowledge of the divine Reality on the other. Suddenly there appears on the scene—for the first time in the *Gītā*—the incarnate God of Love, the benign Man-God, in the guise of the epic hero Krishna, who forgives the sins of all who put their trust in Him. In attempting to define and

explain the Christian doctrine of faith, "what is it" asked St. Augustine, "to believe in God? By believing to love Him, by believing to be devoted to Him, by believing to enter into Him, and by personal union to become one with Him." This is essentially the view of *bhakti* held by all the great Vaiṣṇava sects in India from the time of the Christian Era down to our own day.

Further there are striking and numerous parallels between the *Gītā* and the *Gospel of St. John*. I can only refer to three or four :

Gītā.

He that believeth on me doth not perish (ix. 31).

I am the way, the refuge the friend, life and death, the support, the treasure, the eternal seed (ix. 18).

He who knows me, the Lord of the world, is freed from all sins (x. 3).

I take a human form and they know me not (ix. 11).

Gospel of St. John.

Whosoever believeth on me shall not perish (iii. 15).

I am the way, the truth and the life (xiv. 6).

This is life eternal that they should know these, the only true God, and Him whom thou didst send (xxii. 3).

He came unto his own and they that were His own received Him not (i. 11).

On the ground of such points of resemblance Dr. Hopkins concludes that "the most reasonable explanation of the data as a whole appears to me to be that the fourth Gospel, perhaps not uninfluenced by the Gnosticism of the time, but not necessarily influenced by a Buddhistic tradition or by any Sanskrit texts, was of a mystical tone that made it peculiarly suitable to influence the Hindu divines who transferred from it such phrases and sentiments as best fitted in with the conception of Krishna as a god of love."

In this connection it needs to be noted that there is evidence that in the early centuries of our era, strong Christian influences were at work in India which may account for the existence of the Christian parallels, as possibly found in the Gita, and more certainly in later phrases of the Krishna cult. There was considerable intercourse of a general character between India and the West in the centuries before and after Christ. The coincidences between Indian and Greek philosophers are numerous, as for instance in the case of Pythagoras. From the time of Alexander's invasion of Northern India there was considerable intercourse between Alexandria and India. Clement of Alexandria refers to the doctrines and usages of the Brahmanas that he had learned from Hindus resident in Alexandria. In India itself too have been discovered many coins of Grecian design and with Greek inscriptions, and the discovery in 1850 at Calicut of several hundred coins all as early as the reign of Nero is an indication of the existence of intercourse between Rome and South India in the first century A.D. It seems certain that Manichæans, Neo-Platonists and Gnostics were indebted for many of their doctrines to India, while scholars like Weber and Garbe are inclined to think that the conception of the λόγος came originally from India. Now all this is a clear indication that Hindu traders and travellers brought a knowledge of their religious and philosophical systems to Europe, and these systems exerted a considerable influence on the progress of European thought in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. But it would be unreasonable to assume that all the borrowing was on one side. From what we know of the way in which Christianity spread in the countries of the West, we might reasonably conclude that Christian traders and travellers carried the doctrines of their faith to India; and from what we know of the receptive character of Brahmanism as shewn by their absorption of un-Aryan non-Brahmanical gods and doctrines

from the earliest times down to the present day, we might with equal reason conclude that the Brahmanas would not be slow to assimilate the thoughts and traditions of the Christians with whom they came in contact in the earlier centuries of our era; and of all forms of faith in India, Krishnaism, being, in its popular form, a religion monotheistic and devoted to the person of Krishna was the one most likely to appreciate the tenets of Christianity. When we come down to the later phases of the Krishna cult and the *bhakti* movement as they found expression in the worship of the Child-God and Madonna, and in the writings and reforming activities of men like Rāmānuja, Rāmānanda and Tulsi Dās with all their undoubted opportunities of contact with Indian Christian life and thought, it is impossible not to agree with Dr. Hopkins and Sir George Grierson that we have as well established a case of borrowing as is recorded in the annals of religious history. So far as Christian influence in the Gītā is concerned, the case for the present is unproven though the tendency of modern scholarship is to regard *bhakti* as indigenous to India, but reinforced by Christian influences. Sir George Grierson thus sums up his discussion of the subject: "It was in Southern India that Christianity as a doctrine exercised the greatest influence on Hinduism generally. Although the conceptions of the fatherhood of God and of *bhakti* were indigenous to India, they received an immense impetus owing to the beliefs of Christian communities reacting upon the mediaeval Bhāgavata reformers of the South. With this leaven their teaching swept over Hindustān, bringing balm and healing to a nation gasping in its death-throes amid the horrors of an alien invasion. It is not over-stating the case to say that in this reformation India rediscovered faith and love, and the fact of this discovery accounts for the passionate enthusiasm of the contemporary religious writings. In them we behold the profoundest depths of the human soul laid bare with a

simplicity and freedom from self-consciousness unsurpassed in any literature with which the writer is acquainted." All our evidence points to the conclusion that the Christianity of the Syrian Church in India through mediaeval times had ceased to be missionary in the ordinary sense of the term, yet it is equally clear that its underlying spiritual truths were far from being wholly submerged by surrounding Hindu influences. The visible Church may have been stationary, but the leaven of the spiritual kingdom for which Christianity stood continued to work.

Early Christian traditions going back to the third century, and recorded by the Church Historians Eusebius and Socrates affirm that the Apostle St. Thomas visited Parthia and India and preaching Christianity in the dominions of King Gondophernes or Gondophares was there martyred. Another group of later traditions alleges that the apostle was martyred at Mailapur (Mylapore) near Madras. Clearly both stories cannot be literally true, for as Vincent Smith remarks "even an apostle can die but once". For some centuries before and after the Christian era there was a political bond between the Parthian or Persian kingdom and the Punjab, and the Persian title of "Satrap" (*Kṣātrapa*) was adopted by many Indian rulers of foreign origin. The term India is admittedly very vague in ancient literaturist and so little credence was attached by scholars to the early Christian tradition until the discovery during the last century of various inscriptions and coins in the North Indian borderlands, which prove that a king by the name of Gondophares ruled over Parthia and the western Punjab for a considerable portion of the first century, his long reign beginning about A.D. 20. Two or three other points need to be noted in this connection. Heracleon, a Sicilian Gnostic, who wrote about 170 A.D. says that St. Thomas ended his days *in pace*, and Clement of Alexandria writing not many years later, quotes Heracleon's statement, and does not deny it. The Jews of Cochin, who

have written records going back as far as 750 A.D. have a tradition that they emigrated from Palestine and settled on the Malabar coast about A.D. 70, and there is nothing improbable in the tradition. Moreover Eusebius tells us that Pantaenus who travelled as a missionary to India in the latter part of the second century, found there a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew (probably the kindred semitic language Aramaic, written in Hebrew character) which was said to have been carried there by the Apostle Bartholomew and brought back to Alexandria by Pantaenus. Milne Rae who argues strongly against the St. Thomas tradition so far as it refers to South India maintains that the India of Bartholomew and Pantaenus was the valley of the Indus, where Aramaic, a vernacular of the Parthian Empire, would be known to some. Richter incredulously remarks "we only wonder what use Indian Christians could possibly make of a Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew!" and Canon Robinson expresses the following judgment: "It is by no means inconceivable that St. Thomas extended his missionary activities from Parthia into north-west India, but it seems certain that he never visited Southern India." Dr. Vincent Smith on the other hand, writing in 1919, says: "My personal impression is that the story of the martyrdom in Southern India is the better supported of the two versions of the saint's death. But it is by no means certain that St. Thomas was martyred at all." My own judgment emphatically inclines to the view of Vincent Smith. It seems to me that the only satisfactory explanation of the existence of a Hebrew or Aramaic copy of St. Matthew in India is to assume the correctness of the tradition of the Cochin Jews regarding their settlement there in the first century, and further to assume that among them were some Hebrew Christians or that an active Christian propaganda was carried on amongst them in accordance with the usual apostolic custom. It requires too no great stretch of the

imagination to suppose that the Apostle Thomas may have first visited the kingdom of Gondophares in the north, and then made his way to the south to visit his Jewish brethren in Malabar, and preaching the Gospel first to them, seek also to win the Gentiles around to the new faith, or establish such as may have been already converts through the teaching of others. This supposition does least violence to the varied tradition recorded, and further has the merit of being in line with the extraordinarily persistent tradition still universally current among the Christians of St. Thomas themselves.

In the year 345 A.D. there landed in Malabar, according to the tradition of the St. Thomas Christians, under the convoy of a Jerusalem merchant, a bishop from Edessa, named Thomas, who brought with him a large following. This tradition is probably trustworthy, for we know that in 343 there broke out in the Persian Empire a severe persecution of the Christians, lasting for a period of nearly forty years. The St. Thomas Christians spoke of the arrival of these Christians from Syria and Mesopotamia as the beginning of a flourishing epoch in the history of the Malabar Church, and the predominance of the Syrian type of ecclesiastical life supports this view. During the course of the following eleven-and-a-half centuries we get only mere snatches of their history. There are certain important copper tablets dating back as far as the eighth century. These old records make the Syrian Christians in India appear as distinguished merchant princes having in their hands a large part of the commerce of the Malabar coast; they had evidently been assigned high rank in the caste system of India, being placed on a social level with the aristocracy of the country, and the relatively high position of the Syrian Christians in Travancore and Cochin to-day finds its explanation and basis in these documents. In the sixth century the Egyptian merchant, Cosmas Indicoplestes made a journey in Indian waters, and

he relates that he found communities of Christians in Ceylon, Malabar and Kalyan (near Bombay). The Bishop of Kalyan appears to have been in ecclesiastical dependence on Persia, and Persian influence was clearly strong in the Indian Church. There are in existence two ancient stone crosses—now known to belong to the sixth or seventh century—with inscriptions which for centuries were a puzzle to scholars. One of these crosses was discovered in 1547 at the shrine of St. Thomas, in Mailapur, Madras, and the other at Kottayam in Travancore. The inscription is in Pehlavi, the mediæval Persian language, and while experts disagree in minor details, the translation given by Dr. Haug may be accepted as approximately correct. "He that believes in the Messiah and in God in the height, and also in the Holy Ghost is in the grace of Him who suffered the pain of the cross." A third cross belonging to Kottayam but considerably later than the other two has in place of a portion of the Pehlavi inscription a quotation from *Gal.*, VI. 14, in the Syrian language: "But God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ by whom the world is crucified unto me and I unto the world." The reference to suffering in these inscriptions may be indicative of much. In the year 883 Alfred the Great sent two priests to India by way of Rome to carry the votive offerings which he had promised to St. Thomas during the siege of London; but no account is preserved of the experiences of those two ambassadors. Of what befell the Christians in South India during the next four centuries we know absolutely nothing. The relations of India with the West were almost entirely severed in consequence of the Arab conquest and the rise of the great Muhammadan Empire, but from the latter part of the thirteenth century, communications were again partially established. The great Mongol Empire of the fourteenth century, under Chingiz Khan and his successors stretched from China through northern and central Asia to European Russia and the borders of Palestine.

By the widespread devastation they caused the flourishing Nestorian Church in central Asia and Mesopotamia with which the South Indian Church had been intimately associated, was in a large measure annihilated. Referring to the famous kingdoms and cities of central Asia Vincent Smith remarks "The vanquished inhabitants, men, women and children were literally slain in millions. Those countries even to this day have not recovered from the effect of the devastations." Yet after the first rush of conquest was over, central Asia from the Pacific to the Black Sea, was, under Mongol control for more than a century accessible as it had never been before, and was not like, till the nineteenth century. The famous Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, entered the service of the Muhammadan Emperor, Kulblai Khan, and travelling in the East was the first to bring a moderately trustworthy account of India to the ears of Europe. All that he says about the Syrian Church in Malabar is, "in the kingdom of Quilon (Travancore) dwell many Christians and Jews who still retain their own language". He says also that at Mylapur there lies "the body of the glorious Martyr St. Thomas Apostle, who suffered martyrdom there. He rests in a town which is visited by few merchants because of its insignificant commerce, but a great multitude of Christians and Saracens make pilgrimages thither." We have brief records of representatives of the Roman Church including Dominicans and Franciscans, who visited India at this time and engaged in missionary effort. In the spring of 1502, when Vasco de Gama landed for the second time in India, and cast anchor in the harbour at Cochin, a deputation of the St. Thomas Christians waited upon him to place themselves under the protection of the king of Portugal and to beg aid of these new comrades in the faith against their oppressors, Hindu or Muhammadan. Friendly relations were at once established, Portuguese factories were founded in certain Christian centres, and in all the treaties with the native princes special regard

was paid to the Christians. Bishop Mar Jacobus, who originally came from Mesopotamia to the South Indian Syrian Church as the representative of the Nestorian Patriarch, and who throughout the first half of the sixteenth century had held a position of great influence among the St. Thomas Christians, cherished to the last for the Portuguese such confidence that in 1549 on his deathbed he handed over to the Portuguese Governor of Cochin the precious copper tablets already referred to, containing the record of the political and social privileges granted to the Hindu princes and authorities in former times. Those tablets remained rejected and forgotten until they were discovered by the learned Anglican Chaplain, Dr. Claudius Buchanan, and later deciphered by British and Continental scholars. Information of a reliable character is available as to the condition of the Malabar Church as found by the Portuguese. The Malabar coast was rent and torn asunder into countless little kingdoms and principalities. At no distant date the Christians had formed an independent kingdom, and they still preserved the sceptre of their last prince. In the meantime they had lost their political independence, and were scattered up and down the various small principalities, often oppressed and downtrodden, but yet on the whole a highly respected and wealthy class. Although politically rent asunder they clung firmly to their ecclesiastical unity under the bishops and metropolitan of their church. In number they comprised at the beginning of the sixteenth century about 150,000 souls. With great tenacity they retained the ancient Syriac as the language of the Church, though the Indian language Malayalam was the common speech among the Christian people. Only Syriac books were used, amongst them being several very ancient and valuable manuscripts of the *Peschito*, the second century Syriac version of the Bible. The church buildings were for the most part very old, not unlike those of Europe, frequently having high vaulted roofs, and decorated with large and often very old

crosses. They observed three sacraments—baptism, the Eucharist, and ordination to the priesthood. Instead of grape-wine, which could not be obtained, they used for the communion the juice of raisins steeped in water, or the ordinary palm wine of the country. They maintained a well-ordered church discipline, which was exercised by the priests in the presence of the whole congregation, and their ban fell heavily on all evil doers in civil as well as in church life. At the celebration of the love-feast many thousands of Christians frequently assembled. Special fast days were observed, and there existed a very numerous body of native priests and deacons. Most of the priests were married ; many even married a second time, and their wives were held in the greatest esteem. Baptism was seldom performed before the fortieth day, and often it was a case of months and years. Social intercourse with the lowest castes was avoided, and any kind of missionary activity among them was discountenanced. Great pride was taken in the indigenous and natural character of the church, and its customs and traditions were tenaciously maintained.

The relation between Portuguese and Syrian Christians for the first fifty years of Portuguese dominion in India are creditable to both sides. About 1550, soon after the death of Bishop Mar Jacobus, the Portuguese made a decided change in their policy both civil and ecclesiastical with regard to the Malabar Church. The Jesuits conceived, and did everything in their power to carry through, the bold plan of bringing the whole body of the Syrian Christians into the Roman Church. The Syrian bishops were seized and imprisoned, and such as did not submit to the Jesuit plans were kept in confinement, put to death or burnt at the stake under the orders of the Inquisition. A Roman bishopric and ultimately an Archbishopric were founded, together with a seminary for the training of native priests on Roman lines, and a printing establishment for the printing and

circulation of Roman literature. New priests were ordained in large numbers, and influential laymen skilfully won over to the Jesuit side. Finally at a Synod held in 1599, consisting of 153 native priests and 660 laymen, the Roman model was adopted for the Syrian Church. The ancient usages of the Church were abolished, though it was deemed expedient to retain Syriac for the time being as the church language. The old church literature was emended, in a Roman sense, or burnt, and it is to this we must attribute the scarcity of reliable documents bearing on the earlier history of the St. Thomas Church. The celibacy of the clergy was introduced, together with auricular confession and many other destructive Roman rites and ordinances; while statues of saints were erected on altars and church walls. On the other hand the marriageable age was raised, effective arrangements were made for pastoral care of scattered and isolated congregations, and an active missionary propaganda was initiated.

The triumph of Jesuit policy seemed complete and to such an extent that when a new Syrian Archbishop sent by the Patriarch of Babylon arrived in India in 1602 he met with no recognition and support and was sent back home. But in the course of the next fifty years their plans disastrously miscarried through overweening confidence and excess of zeal. When the Jesuits felt themselves to be masters of the country, they bestowed no consideration on the rights and privileges of the native priests, and even endeavoured to replace the Syriac language of the church by Latin. Representatives of the Syrian church sent complaints direct to the Pope and to the King of Spain and Portugal, against the partiality and arbitrary character of Jesuit administration of the church and its funds, and asked that Dominicans more cognisant of their special needs be sent to them. In the year 1653 a new Syrian Bishop, Atalla, who had been consecrated by the Nestorian Patriarch, arrived in India,

but when at Mylapur he was taken into custody by the Portuguese, transported by sea to Goa, and there delivered up to the Inquisition and burnt at the stake. This deed of violence so roused the Christians of St. Thomas that they rose *en masse* and marched to Cochin armed. There they swore a most solemn oath, at the foot of the cross before the church, that no Jesuit should ever again be recognised as bishop in their country, that all Jesuits should be driven out of the land, including the Jesuit Archbishop of Kranganur. A Syrian church council, on the strength of a letter written by the murdered Bishop shortly before his deportation ordained their own Archdeacon as Bishop. Of the 200,000 Christians of St. Thomas only 400 remained true to the Jesuits. As the Roman church historian Dr. Fortescue admits that "the Inquisition rarely succeeded in securing hearty affection from its victims".

The Roman authorities were compelled to bend before the storm. The Jesuits were set aside, and their Archbishop deposed. Four barefooted friars of the Carmelite order were instantly despatched to Malabar with instructions to rescue for Rome all that it was still possible to rescue. Various concessions in the matter of ecclesiastical administration were made to the Syrian Christians. The Carmelites were confronted with no easy task, but they went to work very skilfully, negotiating with the people and their representatives including the native bishop and holding conferences and synods in the tireless tours they made from one end of the country to the other. In 1659, one of the Carmelites, an Italian, was created bishop and in due course 84 congregations again joined the Church of Rome, while 32 maintained their independence. In the meantime however the Portuguese Empire in India was rapidly nearing its end. The seventeenth century was the epoch of Dutch colonial expansion and conquest and as a result of the sharp conflict between Portuguese and Dutch in Ceylon and South India

during the decade ending in 1663, when Cochin the last Portuguese stronghold on the Malabar coast fell, the supremacy of the Portuguese was definitely overthrown and we cannot be surprised that the Christians of St. Thomas would not raise a finger to save them from their downfall.

The briefest reference only can be made to the fortunes of the Syrian Church under Dutch and subsequently British supremacy. The Dutch banished the European clergy from the land, with the exception of a few Carmelites, who were allowed to remain on the ground of their scientific researches and achievements. Bishops, born in India, were in due course appointed, but at first, at any rate, the experiment was attended with serious difficulties, so that in 1698, the Dutch on the intervention of the Emperor Leopold of Austria granted permission for a European Carmelite to be appointed bishop, and the Roman Syrians were in this respect well served by the Carmelites for a considerable period. Jesuits were again allowed to intervene, and for a large part of the eighteenth century the two Roman orders were engaged in direct conflict, and the rivalry only came to an end on the suppression of the Jesuit Order by Pope Clement XIV, when again the Roman Syrians pressed for a native bishop of their own. The non-Roman Syrians too had their own special difficulties during the years of Dutch power. They had a succession of native bishops, but had no small difficulty in the matter of their consecration by some elevated ecclesiastic dignitary. For centuries they had been dependent on the Nestorian Patriarchs for this purpose, but in 1665 the ceremony was performed by a bishop who had been sent out by the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch resident at Mardin in Chaldea in the Tigris Valley. It would appear that the Christians of St. Thomas, who for so long had Nestorian associations, now quietly and silently became Jacobites. This sudden change from Nestorianism to Jacobitism, from dyophysitism to monophysitism is regarded by Dr. Richter as enigmatical and without precedent. For

the information of those not theologically inclined it may be mentioned that the ordinary orthodox doctrine of ecclesiastic councils is that Christ united two complete natures, human and divine, without confusion in one person. The Nestorian view (so called from Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople early in the fifth century) is that true humanity and true divinity are both found in Christ, both eternally distinct, and not united in single self-conscious personality. The Jacobite view, so called from Jacob, a sixth century Syrian Monophysite Missionary and Bishop of Edessa, is what is generally known as Monophysitism, which teaches that the human and divine were united in the incarnation of Christ into one nature, and that essentially divine with human attributes. We do not get particularly excited these days, in regard to these controversies about the relation of the two natures and we do not think of going to the stake in maintaining our special views on abstruse theological questions. I am inclined to the opinion that the differences gave as little trouble to the Indian Syrians of the 17th century, and if so, to talk of a sudden conversion is beside the point. Ecclesiastical convenience and natural self-respect were to them more important. At any rate the Syrian Christians of to-day resent being regarded as Nestorian. They like to be known as Jacobites or still better as orthodox.

While the Syrian Churches were distraught by internal strife and division, a great change came over the world politics. Travancore was allowed by the Dutch in the middle of 13th century to absorb a number of small neighbouring states, and to take under its rule practically the entire Christian Church of Malabar, and in the main the Travancore rule has been friendly. Later Haidar Ali in all his conquests was tolerant towards the Christians. His son Tipu Sahib broke upon the Christian districts in Malabar, and for five weeks raged hither and thither with unspeakable cruelty, destroying according to contemporary estimates,

fully one-tenth of the Christian community and burning to the ground many of their finest and most ancient churches. Much of the wealth of the church vanished, and there has never been complete recovery from the effect of the blow. It was only the British attack on Tipu that saved the Syrians from complete annihilation; and five years later, in 1795, the British captured Cochin, and the Dutch colonial power came to end. As the German Dr. Richter remarks, "the Dutch had far too much of the small tradesman about them, they never rose to an understanding of their mighty opportunities and duties in India". During the past century and a quarter, contact with Western Christianity has brought to the Syrian Church new life and light. There is still trouble between rival hierarchies, but there is an upward and an onward movement which promises to be of incalculable significance for the future Indian evangelisation through an indigenous Christianity more ancient than much of Hinduism itself. The Romo-Syrians have of late years been ruled by native bishops guided by Roman Catholic fathers of the Jesuit and Carmelite orders. While Catholic in confession, they use their own Syrian rite, and are generally regarded as more Syrian than Roman. The orthodox or Jacobite Syrians carry on the traditions of the ancient Syrian church. They are at present divided into two parties, one supporting the Patriarch of Antioch in his effort to maintain control over the temporalities of the Church, the other supporting Mar Dionysius, the Metropolitan, who with the help of the deposed Patriarch of Antioch, is seeking to establish the rights of his church as an autocephalous Jacobite Church at Malabar. Litigation on the subject is still proceeding in the Travancore courts but everything points to the party of the Metropolitan establishing their rights to independence of Antioch. The Reformed or Mar Thoma Church arose in the first half of the nineteenth century largely as a result of Anglican influence, through the Church

Missionary Society. The most progressive Syrian Christians of all parties recognise the weakening effects of disunion. This disunion it must be admitted is largely the result of foreign interference, Portuguese, Antiochan or Turkish, and British. The hope of the future is in the new generation. For many years a large number of young Syrians have been going to Christian Colleges in Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Serampore and have been receiving higher education, arts or theological. At Serampore there is a Syrian Christian on the staff, a Syrian hostel and Chapel connected with the College, and several of the oldest Serampore Divinity graduates are Syrians. The whole outlook is changing, and the prospects of co-operation and reunion are hopeful. Social and evangelistic movements in the Church are being organised, and the issues involved are of incalculable importance from the standpoint of Indian Christianity as a whole. Like Dr. Fortescue the Catholic historian of the Malabar Church, I also, on the basis of my own knowledge of some of the characteristics of Syrian Christianity, gladly transcribe the following words of the Anglican worker, Mr. Howard "From the day when it was first planted in Malabar, the gospel has ever done its work in pious souls. In many a village such as Chattanoor, Kayencolum, and others, remote from the scenes of strife, men and women have lived quiet and peaceable lives in all goodliness and honesty, and in faithful dependence on their Redeemer. In the Church of Travancore, as elsewhere, beneath the troubled surface there has ever been, and still is, a deep underflow of piety which from its gentle and unobtrusive character, is not chronicled in human records, but whose fruit will be found at the great day to the praise and glory of God." The type of Christianity that characterises this ancient and indigenous Church is essentially devotional and mystical in character and it is only this form of Christianity that can hope to make a permanent impression on the Hindu mind.

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ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF THE LATIN RITES IN MALABAR, COCHIN AND TRAVANCORE.

L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T., F.R.A.I.,
Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Calcutta.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.—The Roman Catholics of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore fall mainly under two divisions, namely, the Syro-Romans and the Latinites or *Latinkār*. The origin and history of the former community have already been given.¹ Regarding the history of the latter it is generally held that these Latinites or the Christians of the Latin rite are far more recent converts to Christianity than the Syrian Christians, that is, after the year 1500 A.D. It is said that they are the descendants of the converts of St. Francis Xavier, Father Mighuel Vaz and other Portuguese Missionaries. But they now call themselves Latin Nazranées and declare that their ancestors were Syrian Christians who abandoned their Syriac rite of worship, and that on some reason or other, they joined the Portuguese Missionaries and adopted their ritual. They form two separate communities namely the *Ezhunittikkār*—"Seven Hundred", and the *Anjuttikkār*—"Five Hundred". Each of these two communities asserts its superior social status over the other, and a short account of them may not be found to be uninteresting in this connection.

¹ See *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore*, Chaps. I to IV.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITIES.—*Ezhunuttikkār*.—The name "Seven Hundred" is not an old one, for it is not found in the old records of the churches or of the State, nor included in the conditions of the treaty between the Dutch and the Cochin Government. The two communities, "Seven Hundred" and "Five Hundred" were under protection of the Portuguese and the Dutch. The former were trained in the art of war, and it is said that 700 soldiers were under each commandant. It is also said, that in the Portuguese or Dutch Fort of Cochin, there were seven hundred soldiers who were engaged as watchmen.² The following accounts are given regarding the origin of the designations. Under orders of one of the rulers of the State, seven hundred soldiers were appointed to guard and protect the Portuguese Fort of Cochin. Another version is that the seven hundred of soldiers of the Latin rite were appointed by the Dutch to guard the Cochin Ferry. There is also a third version given for these designations. The Portuguese in their conversion of the people in these parts, made 700 and 500 converts from the low caste Hindus on different occasions, and in their writings and correspondence used these designations, by which they are now called. But the names are not current among the communities in Travancore, south of Alleppy. Five hundred of the fishermen inhabiting the coast were made to serve the Portuguese of Cochin, hence the two communities were so called as above mentioned. These statements are not supported by any authority. The members of the community of "Seven Hundred" are called Latinites,³

² *Manuscript Records.*

³ Latinites or Latins are so called because of their having descended from their ancestors who were trained in the Latin rite in the Cranganur seminary established in 1540, and from those who had joined them. It is said that quite as many as 100 native students (Syrian Christian youths) were learning in the seminary at Cranganur. Both Latin and Syriac were also taught in the Jesuit College at Vaipputkotta. Again in 1585, there were as many as three hundred Syrian youths learning Latin in the College at Cochin, and they were of the highest nobility. (*Orientes Conquistado*, pp 126-127.)

Latins or *Latinkār*, Latin *Māppillas*,⁴ *Mārgakkārs*,⁵ *Malabāris*,⁶ *Mundukār*.⁷

Concerning them Mr. Mackenzie says, "The Raja of Porkad, also withdrew any prohibition, and gave the Portuguese free access to his dominions where they made numerous converts in the year 1570 baptising seven hundred persons. These converts received by the Portuguese clergy from the Hindu population followed the Latin rite, and the fact that these converts came from different castes gives the most likely explanation of the division of the Latin Catholics to this day into bodies known as the "Seven Hundred" and "Five Hundred". Dr. Day and Vischer affirm that the community known as the "Seven Hundred" is made up of the low caste converts from Izwvans, Pulayans and Parayans, and the Syrians very much resented their priests wearing the habit and conducting themselves as Syrian Priests."⁸

Concerning these people the following account from Vischer's Letters from Malabar may be found to be interesting.

Those who are converted by the Roman Catholics are either the slave children of Christians, like most of the *Topasses*, or of the lowest sort of heathens, none being higher than *Chegos*. Few Brahmans, Chetriyas or Sudras adopt their religion; indeed, we might suppose that the low castes do so generally in order to escape the contempt in which they are held by their nations, for when they become Christians

* Latin *Māppillas* the name is used in contradistinction to Syrian *Māppillas*. For the meaning of the word see page 1 ante.

⁵ *Mārgakkārs* the name denotes those who abide by or are amenable to law, and is found in the revenue records of the lands belonging to these people in Kumbalam, Panambukad and in other villages of the Kanayannur Taluk. The term is not an old one, it is one of recent application probably from 1765.

⁶ *Malabāris* the name signifies the people of Malabar. These Catholics of the Latin rite, fought for the Portuguese in Aden, Ormuz and other places, where they were known by this name.

⁷ *Mundukar* the Dutch divided the native Christians of the coast into two divisions or parties, namely, *Mundukār*, or persons who wore white cloths and had puggeries or turbans for head dress, and the *Topasses* who were dressed in hats and drawers. Each division was under a Captain or Commandant who was responsible to the Governor for their conduct.

⁸ *The Travancore State Manual*, p. 122; F. Day, *Land of the Perumals*, p. 281.

they are more esteemed, and may even come to the places which they might never approach before. There are also many among these new Christians, who come over to that religion, because they have lost caste, and are dishonoured among their own people; a class of persons who would not be lightly received among us. The priests also make very little circumstance about the baptism of these new Christians, for they merely ask whether they believe in Christ, or in the Holy Church, or can say the Apostle's creed, and then baptise them at once; and as the people know well enough that we should not act in that manner, but should ask them their own reasons for wishing to become Christians and teach them diligently they do not come to us. Besides, seeing that the great mass of blacks are papists they follow their example, thinking blindly that to possess the mere name of Christian is enough. We may add another reason, namely that the Romanists baptise slaves and children of slaves, thus making them nominal Christians; whilst among us baptism is only administered to those whose parents are Christians⁹

“*Five Hundred*”.—The members of this community are known as *Mukkurans* or *Kadakodies*. Their origin is attributed to the conversion of the multitudes of fishermen who were baptised after the year 1532, along the coast northward from Cape Comorin by Father Mighuel Vaz, St. Francis Xavier and subsequently by other Portuguese missionaries. They have for their Patron saint the Apostle St. Peter, who was a fisherman, and for the chief festival in their churches, they have the feast of St. Peter. In the churches in which they form parishioners along with the *Topasses* or other Latiuites, they have separate confraternities in honour of St. Peter. The members of this community in the extreme south are known as *Paravers*, or *Chavalakkār*, while those in and around Quilon are changed. Their brethren on the northern coasts of Cochin and Travancore are called *Mukkuvars*. Following the example of those in the South, they subsequently changed their caste name to *Cochikkār*, and during the first half of the 19th century into *Anjuttikkār*. In a memorial submitted to Mr. Mackenzie, the former British

⁹ Vischer, *Letters from Malabar*, p. 113.

Resident of Travancore and Cochin, the members of this community gave a statement "as the descendants of the Thomas-Christians." "They wrote that they belonged to a village called Anjūr situated at the extreme north of the Cochin State which is one of the thirty *Desams* of the Chittalappily *Pravarty* of the Trichur Taluk, and was one of the places included in the Apostolate of St. Thomas, that they were persuaded by the Portuguese to adopt the Latin rite; that many of them were induced to pursue the occupation of fishing; that there is a sharp difference between fisherman by caste and fisherman by profession, that the adoption of the working class of a community of a particular profession does not militate against the social position of a community as a whole; that they are descended from the original St. Thomas Christians; that some of their customs are the characteristic features of the costumes and ornaments of their Hindu forefathers".¹⁰ This account appears to be cooked up to suit their own purpose and cannot be supported by proper evidence.

With the arrival of the English in these parts at the beginning of the 19th century some of the fisher-Christians in the Parish of Soudi and Manacherry who were employed in the domestic service of Europeans rose up in position as butlers, *metys*, and *marakkāns* and they have approached the Varāpuzha, a seminary for the first time to get their sons admitted for the study of their priesthood. The Syrian and Latin youths of the seminary objected to their admission on the ground of their former low Hindu status. They were supported by the Syrian Christians and the Latinites. The members of the fishing community of Soudi and Manacherry sent a candidate to Bombay where he studied and was ordained priest. In 1831, Bishop Stabilini brought him to Varāpuzha seminary, and this created bitter opposition, and both the parties sent memorials to Rome, when, by order of Pope Gregory XVI, the sacred congregation of the Propaganda

¹⁰ *The Travancore Manual*, Vol. II, p 120.

issued an order, dated 2nd June, 1832, by which the fishing Christians were allowed to have not more than five priests at a time from their own castes educated and ordained not at the Varāpuzha seminary, but at Bombay and appointed Vicars in their own churches.¹¹ Thus they have become a separate community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THREE HUNDRED

ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY.—The community of "Three Hundred" or *Mūnūttikkār* are the Latins or *Tupasis* so named from the wearing of hats. The name Topass is derived from two Portuguese words *tu pai* (thou boy), because the Portuguese in early times taught their languages to the slaves born in their houses and employed them as interpreters in dealing with the people of the country. According to another account, the name *Tupasi* is derived from Sanskrit, *dvibhāṣi* which means a man who can speak two languages that is, an interpreter. This name, says Bartolomeo, may be given to the *Tupasi*, since in addition to their mother tongue, they speak one of the European languages, either English, French, Dutch or Portuguese. At Cochin they were called *gens de chapeau*, because they wore a *tupi* or small hat, while others who were not of European descent wore the *romali*, a white turban of the finest muslin. As interpreters, during the Portuguese period, between the people of Malabar and their progenitors, the members of the community thought, that they were pursuing an honourable profession. The *Tupasis* are said to have sprung from the old Portuguese settlers and the low-caste women of the soil. Quite a large number of them were said to have been the descendants of the enfranchised slaves with whom the Christians of the Romish persuasion were also included. They rather belong to the native than to the foreign

¹¹ Cochin Angus, 1910.

element. It is said that they were proud of their descent from the Portuguese and Spanish families and bore the name of De Silva, Rodriguez, Pinto, Gomez, etc. They called the Portuguese "our people" but were nevertheless looked upon with contempt. Their ancestors are said to have been extravagant, and fond of show. Though the Portuguese names still persist, they have now no Portuguese blood in their veins; for some are either descendants of native converts to Christianity or of the converted domestic slaves of the Portuguese. They speak as a rule, common Portuguese or Low Portuguese, but are dressed in European style if they can afford, though they go bare-foot, and wear a white linen cap on the head or on the top of this a hat. They were allowed to retain their property under the Dutch Company.

Native Christians were divided into two parties: the *Mundukārs* or persons who wore a white cloth and *pugery* and *Tupasis*, who were dressed in hats and trousers, each division being under a captain or a commandant who was accountable to the Governor of Cochin for his conduct. Moen states that "on the taking of Cochin there were many Topasses here along the coast who were the descendants of the Portuguese along the coast. Some were slaves who had been given their freedom; others were the offspring of the native women with whom their masters had formed temporary alliances. After the Portuguese left their place they assumed the names of their masters. They were placed under a Captain and ensigns as well as other subordinate officers. He also states that during his tenure of office from 1771 to 1781, 450 of them were drilled once a month to learn the use of arms. Prior to 1663, they had a bishop of their own and a Cathedral within the town of Cochin; when the company took their place, and took them under their protection they were allowed to exercise their religion."¹² These

¹² F. Day, *Land of the Perumals*, p. 170.

nicknames are now being disclaimed by the respective communities.

SUB-DIVISIONS.—Francis Day in his *Land of the Perumals* gives the following divisions.—The four Roman Catholic castes, are at the present time divided in the following manner. The first the *Araicatnalukār* (the community of the sixty-four) is said to have consisted originally of converted Brahmanas and Nairs. The second, the *Mūnūttikkār* ("Three Hundred") are Latins or *Tupasis*, so named from wearing hats and believed to have mostly sprung from the domestic slaves. The third the *Anjuttikkār* ("Five Hundred") are known to have originally sprung from *Mucuas* or converted fishermen, and other low-caste people, they generally call themselves Mopalahs. The fourth the *Ezhunuttikkār* ("Seven Hundred") are the descendants of the soil slaves. The *Catanars* or priests are generally taken from the second or the fourth of these communities or castes.¹³

HABITAT: A DESCRIPTION OF TOWN OF COCHIN.—An account of the town of Cochin during the Portuguese and the Dutch periods may be found to be interesting. The credit of the foundation of the town of Cochin is due to the two Portuguese leaders Francisco and Alphonso Albuquerque who visited the locality in the reign of King Emanuel of Portugal. It was afterwards very much enlarged and made beautiful under Vasco de Gama. It became one of the wealthiest commercial towns in the Indies, and was erected in the episcopal see by the Roman Pontiff. The town formerly contained beautiful churches, which were either demolished or converted into magazines. The church of St. Francisco alone remained and was used by the Dutch while the Roman Catholics had their services performed outside the city and had several churches outside it. The town is situated on the noble river abounding in foliage with pleasant well-wooded banks and scattered with many islets all containing cocoanut

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 231

palms. The town diminished in importance during the days of the East India Company. It was strongly fortified, and the fortification was sufficient to protect the town against the natives who were ignorant of the art of besieging and the methods of bombarding. It was tolerably extensive. The streets were regular, but the houses were quaint and built after the old Portuguese fashion. Each apartment had a separate roof. The rooms were not level with the ground, and several steps had to be mounted to reach the hall which was the first apartment of the house. Underneath it were empty chambers wherein the Portuguese either lodged their slaves or stowed away their goods. Most of the rooms were plastered after the Hindu custom with cow dung which served as flooring and was renewed every week. The town was, as at present, inhabited by Christians, for the Hindus were not allowed by their own laws and customs to dwell in it. The inhabitants comprised several classes. There were, as at present, native Christians, Tupasis, and Europeans. The last, who formed a considerable proportion of them, were of a mixed race, sprung from European fathers and native mothers. They were largely employed in the service of the East India Company. They seldom rose to higher offices than that of book-keeper. The town had even then an excellent harbour.

In its palmy days Cochin was a very busy town with streets tolerably regular. Forbes who had occasionally visited Cochin for several weeks at a time during the latter part of the Dutch rule, states that it was a place of great trade and presented a striking contrast to Goa; a harbour filled with ships, streets crowded with merchants and ware-houses stored with goods from every part of Asia and Europe marked the industry, commerce and the wealth of the inhabitants. There are even now a few streets in British Cochin with old-fashioned houses, the ground floors of which were used for slaves, for stores or as birthchambers, and were afterwards used as stables emitting a very disagreeable odour to the occupants.

Such rooms are now either occupied by the owners or used as workshops. A few such houses are occupied by the members of this community in Eranakulam, Nārakkal, Pallipuram and other places, while the poorer people live in houses having a few rooms. Not far from Adūr in Vayanthala and Kādukkutty these people are very poor and live in thatched huts corresponding to those of the poorer classes of the Hindus. The few who are in tolerably good circumstances have a few wooden chairs and cots, while others have only mats. Their domestic utensils are a few earthen and enamelled vessels.

The Roman Catholics of the Latin rite are found in the Cochin-Kanayannur, Cranganur and Mukundapuram Taluks of the Cochin State, in Eraniel, Shertallay in Travancore. The community of "Seven Hundred" is found in Cochin, Eranakulam, and in the following places: Cranganur, Mathilakam, Kāra, Thiruthipuram, Goduthuruthi, Pallippuram, Maliyankara, Kunnamavu, Manampādi, Malipuram, Elankunnapuzha, Nārakkal, Chāthanad, Mulavukād, Vallarpādam, Pizhala, Mullampilli, Vaduthala, Edappilli, Kallūr, Palarvattam, Eranakulam, Thikudam, Marattam, Panangad, Kumbalam, Mattācheri, Soudi, Manacherry and Chellānam. The community of "Five Hundred" is found mostly on the sea coast from Cranganur to Cochin and thence to Quilon.

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AMONG "SEVEN HUNDRED".

The Roman Catholics of the Latin rite, include the three communities already mentioned, among whom there is no intermarriage. Marriage is endogamous in each community. Among the Catholics of the Latin rite, the marriage customs do not differ very much from those of the Syrian rite. The marriageable age of boys and girls, their betrothal, their publication of the banns in the two Parish churches, the marriage rite in the church, the usual wedding feasts in the

houses of the bride and the bridegroom, the bridegroom returning with his bride to his house, and the attendance of the marrying couple in the Parish church of the former are all the same. After the return of the bridal pair from the church they are received at the gate by their god-father and god-mother. The former marks the sign of the Cross on their foreheads with the tip of the finger, while the latter after marking a similar sign with a ring on the bridegroom's head and with one of the beads of a necklet (*moni-kontha*) on that of the bride presents both to the married couple. Giving them conspicuous seats in the pandal, the god-father asks the permission of the assembled elderly members for the sweets to be given by his wife. After this they are seated on a mat inside, and the bridegroom leaves to join his own party. They are again invited to the bride's house from which they return to the house of the bridegroom to attend the Mass on Sunday in his parish church and on the following Monday the nuptials take place in his house. It is interesting to note that at the wedding feast two members eat from one leaf as a sign of close relationship. The bride's parents give her the following ornaments; *moni-kontha* (necklet), *mekkāmōthiram* and *kāthila* (ear ornament), *mōthiram* (rings for the fingers), *ūkkazhuthu*, (anklets), bracelets and other ornaments and *vairamonī* (necklets) along with the dowry proportionate to their means, out of which a sum of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the *pathuvaram* is given to the Church. No dowry is paid at the time of the marriage, but only when the bride joins her husband after her first delivery. Some domestic utensils for her future use and some ornaments for the baby are also given.

When once the marriage is celebrated the priest will immediately copy into the marriage register the names of the parties and of the witnesses, with the place and date of the celebration and the other indications, in conformity with the prescription of the ritual books. In addition to this the parish priest will also note in the baptism register that the

wedded person has contracted marriage on such a day in his parish. If the wedded one has been baptised elsewhere, the parish priest will inform of the marriage directly or through the episcopal curia, the parish priest of the parish in which the baptism has taken place in order that this marriage may be noted in the book of baptisms.

The marriage was more commonly arranged by the parents than by the parties themselves, and it often happened that the bridegroom had never previously seen the bride within the company's jurisdiction. The ceremony of marriage took place in the city and was conducted before the Committee of Matrimonial Affairs. The pair did not go thither together, but the bride went alone accompanied by an old woman, usually her mother, if she was living; next followed several of her male relations and friends. Then the bridegroom arrived with a party of friends carrying shoes and stockings, perhaps a sword if he chose to pay. This money and that for *somereel* went generally to the poor. The bride walked generally very lame as she was quite unused to the slippers which she had to wear for the first time. Besides the coloured cloth in which she was dressed, she wore a head dress resembling that of the mixed races (*Mysticen*); she also wore a silk veil, red or green, thrown over her shoulder from behind and falling in front below the waist. Besides this the bride was adorned with many gold chains and bracelets. On her head she wore a crown within the circle of which her hair was gathered into a knot from which several chains were suspended. Hair pins set with various coloured stones were set in the plaits of her hair. The marriage ceremony was performed in the Romish Church with the license from the priest and formerly from the commandant. When the bridal pair reached the door of their house on their return from the church, they were sprinkled with rose water and then followed the marriage feast when the guests ate in good earnest being generally a hungry set. The same customs are more or less in vogue even now.

Formerly marriages of girls were very expensive; but at present there is a tendency to have the expenses curtailed. Marriage festivities used to continue for four or five days; but it is now reduced to two days' festivities. Customs connected with polygamy, widow marriage, etc., are the same as those among the Syrian Catholics.

INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN THE PORTUGUESE AND THE NATIVE WOMEN.—Concerning the origin of this community or the Indo-Portuguese half-breed, it is said that on his return from the capture of Goa, Albuquerque brought with him the women who had been carried away when the Portuguese were driven out of the place. Soon after a tolerable settlement of affairs again at that port he had them converted to Christianity, and married to Portuguese men. As many as 450 were thus married in Goa. The marriage of Portuguese men to native women had already been sanctioned by Dom Manuel, but this privilege was only to be conceded to men of approved character, and to those who had rendered good services. Albuquerque nevertheless extended this permission far beyond what he had been authorised to do; but he took care that the women thus married were the daughters of the principal men of the land. This he did in the hope of inducing them to become Christians, and to those who were thus married, Albuquerque allotted lands, houses and cattle so as to give them a start in life, and all the landed property which was in possession of the Moorish Mosques and Hindu Pagodas, he gave to the principal churches of the city dedicated to Santa Catharina.

INHERITANCE AMONG THE LATIN CHRISTIANS OF NORTH TRAVANCORE.—The customary law of inheritance which obtains among the Latin Christians of North Travancore has been gravitating towards the usages among the Syrian Christians, and the law of inheritance among them is as vague as among the latter. Among Latin Christians, till some years ago, all the heirs, whether male or female, of the same degree took equal shares in the intestate property and in O. S. No. 282 of 1052

on the file of Always Zillah Court, the right of the daughters of a Latin Christian to share equally with their brothers in their father's estate was fully recognized. In August 1900, the Archbishop of Varapuzha found that there was some trouble among his flock regarding the law of inheritance and he issued a circular to the Vicars in his archdiocese, who in response to it furnished him with various opinions. His Grace came to the conclusion that it was best to follow the opinion of the majority of his parishioners to hold that daughters were entitled only to legitim including the dowry. The members of this community intermarry with their co-religionists in the Cochin State and elsewhere, and in these places the sons and daughters share equally in their father's estate. In T. L. R. (p. 215) it was held that according to the customary rights of the Latin Christians, daughters married with *streedhanam*, do not share their father's property with sons, and that sisters are not entitled to share in their brother's property so long as there are brothers or their descendants.

In A. S. 208 of 1070 it was held that the widow of a Latin Christian of North Travancore is, when there are children, entitled to one-eighth of her husband's estate absolutely, and that the mother of a childless person is entitled to a share equal to that of a brother. In A. S. 120 of 1077 it was held that the daughters of a Latin Christian are entitled to succeed to their father's estate even when the latter leaves brothers. At least there seems to be a great approximation between the customary usages of the two communities.

INHERITANCE AMONG THE SOUTH TRAVANCORE CHRISTIANS.—The ancestors of the Roman Catholic Christians in South Travancore appear to have been converts of St. Francis Xavier and other missionaries about the middle of the 16th century, and the law of succession obtaining among their descendants is vague and unsettled. In the case of a man who dies leaving only daughters, the girls are allowed to divide their property among themselves equally, and take their

respective shares absolutely. With regard to the daughter when there are sons, the present practice is for the sons to take the property and give the daughters anything they choose as *streedhanam*. Some among the community are of opinion that the daughters should be satisfied with any pittance that the brothers give her, while all of them say that she may claim a reasonable dowry. Sometimes the church authorities to whom complaints are made, see to the proper payment of the dowry to girls who have been unfairly dealt with by their brothers. The system of demanding high dowries has become very common among them; and a large majority of girls obtain, as dowry from their father, half the son's share, but some want legislation to the effect that the payment should be taken to be in full discharge of every claim they might otherwise have upon their father's estate. This is the time-honoured usage.

A considerable majority in South Travancore are in favour of giving a small share in the estate of the deceased husband. When a person dies childless leaving his father, mother, brothers and sisters, the practice is for the father to take the property absolutely with regard to the mother. There is no uniform practice, and the members of the community desire either half or one-third or one-fourth of the estate of the deceased to be given her with the absolute interest in the share. Similarly sisters must also be allowed a share when there are brothers.

INHERITANCE AMONG THE LATIN CHRISTIANS OF CENTRAL TRAVANCORE.—The Christians under this head are all Roman Catholics living mostly in the Taluks of Karunāgappally, Quilon, Chirayinkil and Trivandrum. There are a few of them living outside these Taluks also. This community has been in existence for more than three centuries. They do not appear to have been influenced to any great extent by the Syrians and the Hindus in the matter of their law of inheritance; but had been on the other hand influenced considerably by

the general Christian law of Europe. As a community they are not rich though at Chowarah, Quilon and Trivandrum, there are some individuals who are rich. The law of inheritance obtaining among them is somewhat vague and unsettled. They make no difference between male and female heirs. Among them the daughters of a deceased man share equally with his sons, and in the same manner there is no difference between a brother and a sister, or between an uncle and an aunt. It has been held in several cases both by the High Court as well as the District Courts of Quilon and Aleppy, that "daughters to whom marriage portions have been paid, have no further claim upon their father's estate".¹⁴ With regard to the brothers and sisters of half blood there is no uniformity. The Rev. Fr. Gonsalves says, "that the claims of brothers and sisters of the full blood seem stronger" than those of the corresponding ones of the half blood, but not strong enough to efface the claims of the latter.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—In this connection it will be interesting to give a short account of the administration of justice among the Catholics of the Latin rites during the Dutch period. The Dutch Laws were nominally the same for Europeans and Natives, but generally they varied very much according to the religious persuasions by their dark subjects. In the neighbourhood of their houses or Cathedral of Santa Cruz close to the river, stood a large gallows while another was seen about half a mile distant, on a low island known to this day as "the Gallows Island," a place which is now used for the burials of paupers. Europeans were rarely executed by hanging, but military executions took place occasionally by shooting. If a European killed a slave whether by an accidental blow or otherwise, he was severely punished but was seldom put to death. The slaves might be corrected by their masters in any way except by causing death. To prevent the chances of

¹⁴ *T. L. R.*, p. 26, O. S., No. 59 of 1071 on the file of the Quilon District Court and O. S., No. 126 of 1076, on the file of the Aleppy District Court.

being put to death by their masters, there was an official, who amongst his other duties received complaints against slaves, and on payment, had them, if males, beaten before their master's doors; if females, within his house.

Slavery was, from a remote period, an institution in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, and was only abolished in 1854. Slaves were purchased in large numbers by the Portuguese and the Dutch, and no enquires were made as to whence they came. Their lives were said to have been "as vicious, as their transactions were abominable." It is said that the church was occupied as a slave godown on special emergency, and that in the week days when the sacred edifice was not required for a religious purpose it was employed to keep these unfortunate beings in, who had usually been carried off by the Mappillas and sold to the Dutch, who shipped them to Ceylon, Batavia, the Cape and other places. However they do not appear to have been badly treated; but whenever any grave offences were proved against them they were severely punished. Impalement and sometimes the nail tortures and also that by fire or water were employed. Impalement was a refinement of cruelty which is said to be of Eastern origin. In ancient times it was a common punishment in Malabar for theft. The Dutch method of practising it may probably be interesting.

An iron spike was thrust through the criminal's skin in the lower part of the back, where a cross cut had been previously made for its insertion; then the point of the spike was guided by the executioner's finger, so as to bring it out at the neck or shoulder carefully avoiding injuring any large arteries or vital organs, as such would afford the poor victim speedy relief. The lowest extremity of the spike was then made fast to a wooden post, which was raised perpendicularly and fixed into the ground, and thus the culprit was supported, partly by the iron spike under his

skin and partly by a small bench, placed underneath his feet, and raised about 10 inches from the ground. Tortured by thirst but denied water, scorched by the sun but denied shade, devoured by insects, but refused any means of keeping them away, his miserable existence terminated in a lingering death, that in some instances was protracted for three days. A shower of rain was hailed as the greatest blessing as it caused the wound to mortify and death rapidly ensued. The Dutch used to break their thighs with an iron club. In a Diary of 1790, the following entries are seen: February 18th, "A Moore woman taken by the patrols this day was sentenced to be whipped for two years". March 20th, "the Christian prisoner Birkky Chowry was this day tortured". On the Capitulation of Cochin, in the 13th article it is said that "Topazes (half castes) and Inland Christians as also the Banians, silversmiths, Panters, washers and shoe-makers who are subjects and vassals of the Dutch Company will retain their property and also all privileges and protection which they always had enjoyed of the said company."

RELIGION, CATHOLIC CHURCH.—After the construction of the fort of Cochin, a small church was built and dedicated to Saint Bartholomeo; subsequently the large church of the Franciscans occupied its place. After the completion of the construction of the Fort, it was dedicated with a solemn religious ceremony. Amongst the audience present was the then Rajah of Cochin who witnessed the whole ceremony with much admiration. As the town of Cochin rose to great importance, the religious establishments of the town became considerably expanded in all directions. Various ecclesiastics and religious orders settled in the town with increasing influence. The Franciscans built some handsome churches, and one of them is still used as the church of the Protestants. The Jesuits had their numerous establishments. The Dominicans and the Augustine monks had their convents and monasteries. It may be said that all these institutions

accomplished a very grand work in the History of Christianity on the West Coast of India. Cochin may claim to be the chief centre in the progress of the Catholic Church in South India. Politically also it rose to great importance. The various religious orders above mentioned, established themselves there and extended their influence all around. As true bearers of the Cross, they carried the message from village to village, first on the sea coast, then to the interior, and lastly from city to city in all the ancient native kingdoms of South India. The chief Roman Catholic Missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in India mostly emanated from Cochin. The religious enthusiasm of the missionaries of Cochin took them all the way from Travancore to Cape Comorin and thence to Tuticorin, Nagapatam, Madura and other towns of the Coromandal coast. The class of people from whom they secured converts belonged mostly to the fisherman caste. It is interesting to see that in Palestine also the early converts to whom the Gospel was first preached were fishermen. The labours among this community of the coast were said to have been commenced by St. Francis Xavier.

Next came the conversion of the "Paulists" who were the early Jesuits belonging to the College of St. Paul at Goa, from which they were sent out as missionaries to preach the gospel in the neighbouring territories and along the coast. They were commonly called Fathers of St. Paul. Sometimes, they were called the "Apostles" from their claiming to be the first preachers of the Gospel to the gentiles of India. In other words Paulists was another name for the Jesuits who laboured in India on the West Coast. The early Paulists were men of extraordinary piety and great skill. They were remarkably patient in their missionary work. Their disinterestedness and generosity won them many converts from heathenism in spite of their having contended against many difficulties.

St. Xavier himself founded many congregations, the chief of which was the church at Kottar near Nagercoil in South Travancore. It is said that he had a house and a small church there, and that the heathens set fire to the house and reduced it to ashes, but they were very much surprised, when they saw him devoutly praying on his knees without being in the least affected by the flames. To mark this spot, a cross was put up to which miraculous powers were attributed. From the time of the construction of the church a lamp has been kept perpetually burning. Even Hindus go there, and make vows, and pour oil. Miracles are recorded to have taken place there, and on this account multitudes of devout Roman Catholic pilgrims from British India, Ceylon and Malacca, attended the annual festivities at Kottar about December of every year.

The following account in that connection may be found to be interesting :—

KOTTAR CHURCH.—“The Jesuit fathers who had charge of the churches on the coast were occupied from dawn, all through the day of the feast. Whilst they were employed in various ways, Martin administered the communion to good Christians. At high mass, having rejected the heathens from the church, one of the fathers mounted a pulpit placed at the church door, where he could be best heard by the multitudes within and without, and there pronounced the panegyric of the Saint, enlarging in particular upon the miracles he had done and still did among them. He related one that had happened only an hour previously :—A heathen having a child affected in his eyes, and fearing that he would become blind applied to Xavier’s image, and vowed 8 fanams (40 sous) to the church if he should recover. The child was soon healed, and the father coming forward to perform his vow presented the child to the Saint; yet grudging so high a fee for so speedy a cure, he only paid five of the *fanams* promised, and was going his way, but had hardly reached the door when by clearer light he perceived

to his utter dismay that the child's eyes were worse than ever again. Feeling that the Saint was punishing him for his unfaithfulness to his vow, he returned, confessed his sin again anointed the eyes of the child with the miraculous oil, and all was well once more. The Jesuit preacher directed the Christians present to learn hence, that God's arm was not shortened, and these miracles were wrought to confirm them in their faith; he then exhorted the heathen who heard him to submit to that God who thus manifested his Almighty Power."¹⁵

Lotteries seemed to have been in vogue here, and to have been a source of profit to the church at Kottar—as they are to Roman Catholic and other churches now-a-days in Cochin and Travancore.

"Some of the heathens (Hindus) were accustomed to unite in a body to the number of 500 or even 600 persons, in a kind of lottery, putting in one *fanam* (2as. 6p.) per mensem, and when the lottery was complete, the lots were drawn by a child from the urn in which they were deposited. In this way some, who before were very poor, are all at once placed in affluent circumstances. A heathen who had put in two lotteries came to Kottar and vowed 5 *fanams* to the Saint if successful in the first lottery. He published his vow to his companions, who were presently surprised to find him successful. He then returned to the Church, and vowed 19 *fanams* if the Saint granted him success in the second lottery. He had such strong confidence in what he had done that he told his friends, that it was no use of their hoping for the prize—the Saint would certainly help him. The excitement hereupon greatly increased, and they began to lay wagers on the issue. Presently to the wonder of all, he was again the winner. The Jesuit priests took occasion upon this to persuade the man who had won the prizes, to change his religion and to believe in the God, through whom he had been so greatly favoured, but he declined giving his consent thereto."

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.—The Catholics of the Latin rite are now governed by two bishops with the Dioceses at Cochin and Quilon respectively. According to the convention of 23rd

¹⁵ Church History of Travancore, pp. 211-13.

June, 1886, which His Holiness the Pope Leo XIII entered into with his most faithful Majesty Louis I, King of Portugal, and the *Brief Post Initam* of 1887, the ancient Diocese of Cochin was recognised, and along with Damam, Macad and Mylapore and Mozambique was made saffragon to Goa. There are 63 confraternities; 3 congregations of the 3rd order of St. Francis of Assisi, one association of the sacred family, a conference of St. Vincent De Paul; a society of Jesus, Mary and Joseph for the relief of the souls one confraternity of Misericordia and catechuminate and one Mount of Piety. For administrative purposes the Diocese is divided into four divisions. About 15 churches in British Cochin form one division. The churches of this Diocese in Travancore are divided into the remaining 3 divisions. In Travancore, the first division contains Pallatodu, Euruvine, Tanghy and Attingal churches with their subdivisions; the second division contains Alleppy, Vattel and Tanepolly Poonghávoo and Cáttur churches with their subdivisions and the Quilon or the 3rd division contains Olicare and Mundacase Valliatory, Cariangolam Velly, Tritur and their numerous subdivisions. The late Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Joao Gomes Ferravia, D.D., ably administered the Diocese assisted by a Council formed by the Vicar General, the Very Rev. Fr. N. B. Da Cruz and Fr. Antonia de Padua and Fr. Vincent Neves Mongr. Antonio de Souza is the Secretary, Very Rev. Fr. Videia is the Director of the College and Fr. S. M. De Souza is the Director of the Orphanage and Fr. Francis De Souza is the Treasurer of the Bishopric.

QUILON DIOCESE.—It was formerly a part of the old Cochin Diocese and united Vicareate Apostolic of Malabar (Verapoly) 28th April 1838. Its separation decreed and provisionally executed on the 12th of May 1845, and finally confirmed as a separate Vicariate Apostolic on the 15th of March 1853. It was erected as an Episcopal See on the 1st September 1886. It included the southern part of the

native State of Travancore, and British Territories of Thangasséri and Anjingo. There are besides 133 Churches and Chapels in Sub-stations and also 28 churches with ordinary residence of priests. The Clerical establishment consists of 19 European Missionaries and 28 native priests. The ancient church of Kottar founded by St. Francis Xavier and the church at Trivandrum and the Capital of Travancore are under the Quilon Bishop. The Educational institutions of the Diocese are being steadily developed. The ecclesiastical seminary at Quilon contains 21 students. There are 10 English and 84 Vernacular schools containing about 3,000 boys and 700 girls. The nuns of the convents at Quilon, Tangacherry and Trivandrum are doing very good work. Attached to these convents, there are day schools and boarding schools which teach girls to a high standard, and show fair results in Government examinations obtaining thereby grant-in-aid. At Tengachérri, there is also a catechumenate for the newly converted. Besides the above schools there are 3 orphanages in connection with the Holy childhood with about 170 children. The vast establishment of the Orphanage at Mulagumood which gives the instructions to the orphans in agriculture, masonry and carpentry and other useful industries including tile manufacturing. The good bishop was ably assisted by the late Vicar General, the Very Revd. Fr. Victor of St. Antony and at present by Pro-Chancellor, Fr. John Gonsalves, the Fiscal Advocate, Fr. Dominis of the most Holy Trinity who is also a professor in the seminary and councillors, Fr. Mary Victor of the Sacred Hewart, and Fr. Antonius of the most Holy Trinity and Fr. John Gonsalves.

SUPPORT OF THE CHURCH.—The Catholic clergy especially in Travancore received stipends from the Government of Goa. The Royal Treasury at Goa paid a substantial allowance of Rs. 750 to the Ecclesiastical Governor Cochin, and 28 of Vicars on the coast of Travancore received 180 rupees per annum. This was found to be insufficient. In most of the

coasting churches fishermen form the bulk of the Christian community, and they were taxed with what is called Tithes, i.e. one-tenth of the fish caught in every net and handed over to the churches and the sale proceeds realised. This was no burden to the fishermen. They contributed much to the church in this easy form, and this has become a caste custom with them and prevails to this day in all coastal villages. The Trustees of the church take charge of the fish daily brought to them and effect the sale. Further in times of great festivities Christians make voluntary contributions to the church. A certain portion of cocoanuts in the garden, coconut oil for the church lamps, and similar garden produce are all freely given. In famous Churches like the Kottar Church, the vows of pilgrims and offerings bring in a handsome income. In inland villages a certain day of the week is fixed by the priest, and on that day only two or three fishermen go to the coasting villages to receive fish and this is sold. The income derived therefrom is given to the church. Wherever the custom of giving dowries to the bride prevails a certain portion is given to the Church. Stipends of the sepulchre or grave fees also go to swell the funds of the church. The clergy wear, and are permitted to receive remunerations for masses, funerals, festivities and other Ecclesiastical functions on the ground that they are not sacraments. The kind and mode of contribution differs in different churches, and the Christians are allowed to continue the usages observed in their respective villages from time immemorial. There is no fixed rule for the Bishops, and it is equally applicable to all the churches. The Clergy are not permitted to receive any remuneration for the administration of sacraments, and yet it is considered lawful for them to accept any offer, which the sponsors may make after the baptism or in case of the marriages of rich people, they give presents in appreciation of duties performed by the officers of the church.

DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.—From time immemorial the Rulers of Travancore have granted the Vicars of the Roman Church in the country, the privilege of being arbiters in matters of criminal and civil litigation among Christians under their control. Generally the Clergy exercised the discipline of the churches and punished Christians in the best way they deemed proper. Further they often inflicted corporal punishment on the erring members, and this practice continued till about the end of the 18th century. This was subsequently abolished. In spite of the abolition, stray cases often occurred in the country parishes where the Vicars took the law in their own hands. "Once a pious condemned woman was tied to a tree, and the catechist flogged her, while the native priest stood conducting the punishment." In some cases punishments were restricted to mere deprivation of sacraments or to personal and local interdicts. In other cases the offenders were directed to do acts of penance or to perform similar pious acts, very often the evil-doers were fined and sometimes excommunicated. Happily the objectionable mode of corporal punishment has entirely disappeared. In matters of doctrine bishops still exercise careful and considerable supervision. The Clergy pay scrupulous attention to the caste prejudices, customs and usages of the Hindu castemen who have embraced Roman Catholic faith. Western education and culture are however doing their work, and the adequate results appear not to be far distant. In the supervision of the temporal affairs of the church strict discipline is exercised. For the proper administration of the church revenue and for the correct abuses, which likely spoliate the church property, strict rules and decrees are in force.

OCCUPATION.—The members of the community of Seven Hundred and Three Hundred were formerly trained for the militia, and they served as soldiers under the Portuguese and the Dutch. And after the decline of their power on the West coast,

they became quite settled and turned to other walks of life. In some of their families the members are proud of still bearing the titles namely, Captain (*cappittan*) commandant (*commandante*), and others conferred on some of their ancestors. They generally inhabit the sea-coast and near the backwaters of Cochin and Travancore, and their occupations are chiefly confined to near their habitations. Agriculture and trade are the chief occupations of the vast majority of the community of the Seven Hundred. In the former are included the cultivation of paddy and cocoanut plantations, while others are engaged in the preparation of copra and in the cocoanut fibre industry. Poorer members work in the factories of Cochin, and get the daily wages of twelve annas to a rupee a day, while others are employed on monthly salaries. Poorer members serve as coolies. Some among them act as carpenters, blacksmiths and mechanics, and many on the sea coast live by fishing. They are an industrious community somewhat backward in point of higher education. Some are employed in the Government service. During the days of the Company they acted as letter carriers.

The community of Five Hundred (*Anjuttikkár*) live mostly by fishing. Many were in the days of the Dutch and the Portuguese employed as coolies on no pay. It was on account of the "protection granted to them against oppression by the Headmen, a system connived at by the Government." Their occupation at present is chiefly fishing on the sea. Their modes of fishing vary according to the seasons of the year, and include those employed in the deep sea and the sea coast. In certain months of the year, boats leave for the deep-sea fishing in the afternoon at about four o'clock. They may remain out all night busy in their work, and return to the shore with their captures at seven o'clock next morning, when the buyers meet them as they land. In other months they set out at daybreak, and return at four o'clock in the afternoon and sell their cargo immediately after

landing. During stormy weather no boats go out to sea.

Nets are generally made of cotton thread, and when large wall nets are used, they are generally the common property of several persons. The meshes are of three different sizes, and are used according to the varieties of fishes intended for capturing. One piece of netting is about five square yards, and this belongs to one individual. A large one consists of forty such pieces fastened together. These nets are employed for catching large fish and shoals of small ones. The large ropes are made of coir.

The mackerel net is generally a single wall-net about 100 feet long and 18 feet deep. It is floated by hollow cocoanut shells at the top, and weighted below with stones. It is said that when a shoal of mackerel is perceived, a heavy stone is fixed to one end of the net, and this is thrown into the sea. The boat to which the other end is attached is rowed quickly round the shoal. When shoals of fish approach the shore, the same kind of net nearly half a mile in length is used. One end is kept on shore while the other is carried round them. They are thus enclosed and dragged to land. Two boats are required when round nets are used. In the centre of the net is a long funnel which is first thrown into the sea, and the two boats to each of which one end of the net is attached, are moved rapidly through the shoals. Cast nets are also employed from the shore by a number of fishermen who remain along the shore, either early morning or in the afternoon along the coast at a distance of fifty to hundred yards apart. They keep a careful watch on the water, and when they see a fish rise very near the land, they rush down to throw their nets over it. There is also a variety of nets peculiar to these parts. They are called Chinese nets and are in use along the banks of rivers and backwaters. They are nearly sixteen feet square suspended by bamboos from each corner, and let down by buckets into the water and after a few

minutes drawn up again. A piece of string to which are attached portions of the white leaves of cocoanut trees, is tied at short intervals along the ebb side of the net, which effectually prevent fish from going that way. This mode of fishing is continued all through the monsoons except on stormy days, and this affords opportunity to ascertain the species and varieties that may be found in the rainy months, and also to render Cochin the best place for making observations on this subject. Fish thus caught are sold at nets. Fishing with a line is not always tried in the deep sea except for sharks, rays and other large fish. The hooks used for the purpose are of two kinds, namely those of local manufacture, and those of English make, are known as China hooks. The hook is fastened to a species of *Thumbu*, which is said to be derived from sea-weed, but more probably from one of the variety of palms. For large fish, a brass wire is attached to the hook, and on one of these substances, the lead for sinking the bait is placed. The lines are either hemp, cotton or fibre of Talipot palm (*Caryota Urens*) which is obtained by maceration. Though strong these are apt to snap when dry. Fishing with a bait goes on during the day, during the monsoon months when work is at a standstill, and five or six persons may be seen standing on a jetty, busily engaged on the occupation. The *bagrus* tribe is then plentiful, and as it bites readily, large numbers are captured.

On the death of a prince of Malabar all fishing is temporarily stopped, as days of mourning for three days.

A fish is an emblem of Vishnu in memory of his first incarnation. It was also the symbol of the Kings of Madura, and the Pandyan Kings had the figure of fish on their flags. This proves that they were Vishnuvites. It is also found on Buddhist Seals. These Kings levied tribute from the rulers of Travancore, and many coins with the figure of fish on them were found in both the states.

THE COMMUNITY OF THREE HUNDRED OR TOPASSES.

The Topasses served as soldiers under the Portuguese and after the decline of that power turned to other walks of life. Their descendants at present follow various trades as bakers, cabinet makers, carpenters and shoe makers, in fact, any work which can furnish them with the necessities of life. During the wars of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, their ancestors were largely employed as letter carriers. In the rural parts in the interior as at Kadukutty, and other places they are agricultural labourers. Some are engaged in making rosaries, wax candles for the local Churches. Some are contractors in Cochin and other localities.

Regarding the members of this community in former times, Jacob Canten Vissehar says "They are idle as well as proud, and will seldom work as long as they have any money. Hence there are few wealthy men among them. They are naturally fonder of the Portuguese than the Dutch, though the former abandoned them shamefully to our mercy when the city changed hands. The unanimity of religion, the resemblance of names and the notion that they are sprung from the same stock make these poor creatures cling to their former masters; and I have no doubt that in the event of a war they would side with the Portuguese rather than with us, although they are at present under our protection, and are shielded by the Company against any pretensions on the part of the Heathen, who have no jurisdiction over them, for when they commit crimes, they must be delivered up to the Company and punished according to our law." (Letters of Malabar, p. 99.)

APPEARANCE, DRESS AND ORNAMENTS.—The Catholics of the Latin rites who are the members of the three communities are seen in all shades of complexion and partake much of the physical characteristics of their ancestors. The communities are mostly endogamous, and there is very little

of fusion in these days. The males of the Seven Hundred and the Five Hundred wear a loin cloth like their original Hindu ancestors, and they have been called *Mundukar* (those who wear *Mundus*—a piece of loin cloth four to five cubits in length and two-and-a half to three cubits in breadth). They wear another cloth to cover the upper parts of their bodies, some wear *rumals* as coverings for the heads, but many among them wear shirts, coats and caps. The poorer members among them manage with a loin cloth. They shave their heads clean and are very sparing in the wearing of ornaments. Men wear a small cross suspended from a ring attached to a thread passing round their neck.

The Topasses wear coats and trousers (*Köttum* and *Kalassum*) when they can afford. But the poorer members wear ordinary loin cloth and shirts. They crop their heads. In appearance they are seen in all shades of complexion, but very often betray the physical characteristics of their forefathers. A physical degeneration is visible owing to the influence of environment namely bad housing, poor diet, and scanty dress, etc.

The women of the first two communities are generally short in stature, and are seen in all shades of complexion. They partake much of the characters of their ancestors. The loin dress of the women of the Seven Hundred consists of a white garment with or without a coloured border seven yards long, a yard or yard and a half broad. The women of the Topasses are like the women of the Black Jews possessing all the characteristics of their European ancestors. Many that have come under my observation, if decently dressed, can pass for Eurasian women. They wear a coloured loin cloth and a loose coat extending as far as the knees. The hair on the head is smoothened with cocoanut oil, and tied into a knot behind. They are very sparing in their ornaments owing perhaps to their indigency.

CONCLUSION.—According to the conception of the followers of Christianity, all are equal and devoid of any difference in social status. This fact is observed more in its violation than in its observance. It has already been said that the Catholics of the Latin rite belong to three communities, and all authorities agree, and the popular opinion confirms the truth of the facts, that they are the descendants of the converts by the early Portuguese Missionaries. The members of the so-called community of Seven Hundred declare that they are the descendants of the Syrian Christians who have adopted the Latin rite. So also do the community of the Five Hundred bring forward certain pretensions to call themselves the descendants of St. Thomas' Christians. These pretensions are resented by the members of the Syrian community throughout Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore. Further the members of the former call those of the latter low caste converts of the Mukkuva community. Keen controversies to establish the social superiority of the one over the other went on some ten years ago. Many articles in support of their pretensions were published in the local newspapers. It is quite possible that some Syrian families may have adopted the Latin rite and their descendants might have mingled in more ways than one with the descendants of those of the original converts during the long lapse of time. But that is not enough to prove that they are the original descendants of the St. Thomas' Christians. The members of the community of Three Hundred do not put forth any ambitious claims. Well-to-do members pass for Eurasians, while the poor are like their other Christian brethren, and do not trouble themselves about their status.

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA: STUDIES IN VĀTSYĀYANA'S *KĀMASŪTRA*

H. C. CHAKLADAR, M.A.,

Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, University of Calcutta.

Vātsyāyana in his celebrated work, the *Kāmasūtra* or 'Aphorisms on Love', presents a beautifully vivid and realistic picture of various aspects of social life in India about seventeen hundred years ago.¹ Though mainly concerned with erotics, yet he throws light on many an obscure side of Indian society, furnishing facts and circumstances hardly available from any other source. He depicts the gay life of the *nāgaraka*, the city-bred man of fashion of his days—his house and garden, his daily round of pleasures, his sports and festivities, his many-sided culture and refinement. He furnishes a picture of the Indian home, of the sweet, pure and devoted Indian wife, the mistress of the household and the controller of the family purse. From Vātsyāyana also we can glean an account of the arts and crafts that flourished in this age of aesthetic tastes and artistic pursuits, and we see how the artiste, the *ganikā*, by virtue of her intellectual accomplishments and skill in the fine arts, occupied a position of no mean importance in society. At the same time we realise that the merry life depicted in Vātsyāyana's work, representing, as it does, but one side of the entire Indian social structure, supplements the picture as obtained from the *Dharmaśāstras*, and the ideal life, according to Vātsyāyana, is one in which the three elements of *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma* are harmoniously blended together.

¹ From the literary and historical data offered by Vātsyāyana's work, it appears that the *Kāmasūtra* was written about the middle of the third century A.C. For a full discussion of the date and place of origin of the *Kāmasūtra*, see a paper by the present writer in the *Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters*, vol. iv, pp. 85-122.

CITY-LIFE, THE IDEAL OF VĀTSYĀYANA

Vātsyāyana in his work holds up the ideal of city-life. He wrote the *Kāmasūtra* as a practical handbook for the guidance of city-bred men of fashion—the *nāgarakas*. A whole section of his book is called *Nāgaraka-vṛttam*, wherein he describes the life of a city-man, not of a mere dweller in a city—such a person would only be a *nāgara*,—but of a *nāgaraka*, who, according to Pāṇini, is a city-bred man skilled in the arts and knaveries that specially develop in a big city, one possessing the virtues and vices of “a cockney”: he might be a clever artist or a knave, as the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* so naively explains.² Vātsyāyana’s book is calculated to benefit such men and women, among them princesses and daughters of high officials (*Mahāmātras*), who armed with an expert knowledge of the practical directions given by him, would be able to subdue the heart of a husband whose love is shared by a crowded harem of as many as a “thousand” wives.³ Vātsyāyana recommends the city as the proper place of abode for a person who after finishing his education, thinks of entering the world, the *grhasthāśrama*, with the wealth that he may have acquired, either by inheritance or by the pursuit of the profession appertaining to

² *Kāśikā-Vṛtti* on Pāṇini, iv. 2 128—“नगरात् कुतस्त्रनप्रावीक्ष्योः”—नगरमन्दादनुत्पन्नमर्थो भवति श्रेष्ठिकः, कुतस्त्रने प्रावीक्षे च गन्धमाने । .. कुतस्त्रनं निन्दनम् । प्रावीक्षं नैपुण्यम् । ‘केनायं सुचितः पन्था मात्रे पन्थास्त्रिधसुरः ?’ ‘इह नगरे मनुष्येषु सम्भाव्यत एतन्नागरकेषु । चीरा हि नागरका भवन्ति ।’ ‘केनेदं लिखितं चित्रं मनो-नेत्र-विक्राशितं यत् ?’—‘इह नगरे मनुष्येषु सम्भाव्यत एतन्नागरकेषु । प्रावीक्षा हि नागरका भवन्ति ।’

³ योगिना राजपुत्री च महासामसुता तथा ।

सहस्राक्षःपुरमपि स्ववशे कुरुते पतिम् ॥—*Kāmasūtra* (Ben. ed.), p. 41 (sūtra 22).

Throughout this paper references have been made to the edition of Vātsyāyana’s *Kāmasūtra* in the *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, Benares. This edition is easily accessible to the public, the edition of Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Durgaprasāda being issued “for private circulation only.” Besides, the commentary, *Jayamaṅgala*, is given more fully in the Benares edition and the *sūtras* in the text have been numbered, affording greater facility of reference. In accordance with the Benares edition, I called the commentator *Jayamaṅgala*, in my paper referred to in footnote 1. But *Yasodhara* appears to be the correct name, though he might have been the compiler, rather than the author of the commentary.

his position in society; * such a man should adopt the life of a *nāgaraka* and fix his habitation in a city—whether small or big, a *nagara*, or a *pattana*, or a *kharvaṭa*, or at least in a resort of many good and noble persons.⁵ In the age of Vātsyāyana, apparently everybody who was marked out from the rest by any pre-eminence in intelligence, or learning, or skill in the arts, was attracted to the city, and found his patron in the king, or in a wealthy *nāgaraka*, or found employment at the clubs and assemblies of citizens, or under the guilds of merchants and artisans.

If a person could not afford to live in a city and was forced to shut himself up in a village by the exigencies of earning his livelihood, even then he should, according to Vātsyāyana, look upon civic life as the ideal and by giving to his fellow-villagers glowing descriptions of the pleasant life led by the *nāgaraka*, he should inspire those among his own class who show any special cleverness or curiosity, with a desire to imitate the conduct of the city-people and he should give them a taste of the amenities of city-life by starting clubs and social gatherings as in the city, by himself gratifying his friends with his company, by favouring them with his assistance and by introducing the spirit of mutual help and co-operation.⁶ A village-wife is spoken of as a simpleton and village-women generally are spoken of as very light and fickle; such rustic women (*carṣanīs*) are regarded with scant courtesy by Vātsyāyana.⁷ The life of a round of pleasures in the city was naturally very expensive and many ran through their fortunes.

* महीतवियः प्रतिपद-जय-क्षय-निर्वेक्षाधिगतैरर्धैरन्वयगतैश्चमयेषां गाढं स्नानमिगम्य नागरकवृत्तं गच्छेत् ।
—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 42 (*sūtra* 1).

* मनरी पचने खर्वटे मइति वा सज्जनानये स्नानम् ।—*Ibid*, p. 42 (*sūtra* 2).

* ग्रामवासी च सजातानिचचवान् कौतूहलिकान् प्रीतुंवाञ्छन् नागरकजनस्य इतः वचनम् अहं च जनयंसादिवापुर्गुणैत मीढीं च प्रपत्तयेत् सङ्ख्या जनमनुरक्तयेत् कार्यसु च साहाय्येन वापुर्महीयात् उपकारयेच्चैति नागरकवृत्तम् ।—*Ibid*, p. 57 (*sūtra* 49).

* वीथितस्मिना ममिवीगमावसाया ** वाचनार्था—*Ibid*, p. 254 (*sūtra* 52), ग्रामाधिपतेरायुक्तकस्य हवीन्वहतिपुत्रस्य युनो ग्रामीचवीथितो वचनमावसायाः, तावर्षस्य रत्नाचचते विष्टाः ।...*Ibid*, p. 282 (*sūtra* 5).

Such a *nāgaraka* who had eaten up his fortune (*bhukta-vibhavaḥ*) might, however, if clever, earn a living by placing himself at the service of the clubs and pleasure-houses where he would be respected on account of his skill in the arts, and then he would be called a *viṭa*.⁸ Even if a man had no fortune of his own he might enjoy the pleasures of life as a *pīṭhamarda*; he might acquire skill in the arts and go about as an itinerant professor of these at the clubs of citizens and the abodes of *gaṇikās*; such a man was marked by his peculiar seat (*mallikā*) which he hung on his back, by his dyed clothes and by some kind of soap (*phenaka*) which he always carried about in order to keep himself clean.⁹ Or he might, if he was skilled in only a few of the arts, attach himself to a wealthy *nāgaraka* as his companion and confidential friend and then he was called a *vidūṣaka* or a *vaihāsika*, a professional jester.¹⁰

GROWTH OF CITIES IN ANCIENT INDIA

This strong desire for the gay life of the city shows that there must have been a pretty large number of cities at the time when Vātsyāyana's work was written. Cities had grown up in India from very ancient times. The village and its headman, —the *grāma* and the *grāmīna*—are no doubt often met with in the *R̥gveda*,¹¹ but the *grāma* sometimes grew into a *mahāgrāma* and people naturally crowded round the settlement of a powerful chieftain, round his *pur* or fortified habitation.¹² In later Vedic literature, cities were very well known; the *Mānava*

⁸ सुकृतिमयस्य सुखवान् सकलान् वैभो नोदयां च बहुमतस्तदुपजीवी च विटः ।...Ibid, p. 56 (sūtra 45). We meet with this and the other characters here described, in Bhāṣa's *Āraḍatta*. The *vita* there is a typical one—he has attached himself to a rich man in power, Śakṣra, whom however he hates for his grossness, for he has still some noble and soft feelings left in himself, moreover, he speaks Sanskrit, showing that he has received a liberal education and has evidently known better days.

⁹ चविमयस्य शरीरमासी मल्लिकायिनकषायमात्रपरिच्छदः पूज्याह्निमादागतः कलासु विषयवस्तदुपदेयैर्न नोदयां वैभोचिते च इने साधयेदास्मानमिति पीठमर्दः । Ibid, p. 56 (sūtra 44).

¹⁰ एकदेशविषयस्य शौहनको विहासश्च विदूषकः वैहासिको वा । Ibid, p. 56 (sūtra 46).

¹¹ RV., i. 44. 10, etc ; see also Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. i, p. 244.

¹² Ibid, pp. 245 and 538; *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, iii. 13. 4.

Grhyasūtra mentions the *grāma*, the *nagara* and the *nigama*.¹³ The cities were very well known to the compilers of the *Dharmasūtras*, Baudhāyana going so far as to warn people desirous of spiritual growth against residence in cities: he declares that it is hardly possible for a man who resides in a town—"whose body, whose face and eyes are defiled by the impure dust of a city"—to obtain success in his spiritual quest.¹⁴ Pāṇini in the seventh century B. C. knew many towns, as we see from his *sūtras* and some of his *gaṇas*; even the *nāgaraka*, the special product of city-life as we have pointed out, was known to him. Kauṭilya and Megasthenes show that there were some very big cities with elaborate arrangements for civic government and that the municipal organisation of the city had developed wonderfully.¹⁵ In the *Jātakas* and the Buddhist Pali texts we find the description of large and prosperous cities which were seats of government and where trade flourished, where the *gahapati* was a prominent citizen and the *sresthī* took a leading part.¹⁶ The *Milinda Pañho* gives a splendid description of the town of Sākala,¹⁷ and nearer Vātsyāyana's time, we find beautiful descriptions of splendid and prosperous towns given in the *Buddhacarita* and the *Lalitavistara*.¹⁸ In Vātsyāyana's time all over India there must have been a large number of cities, great and small, for India was then broken up into innumerable principalities and each prince had his own fortified capital. Besides, cities had grown up at places of pilgrimage—Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina—or had sprung up as centres of the growing trade of the country. It was for the dwellers

¹³ अत ऊर्ध्वं ग्रामचतुष्टये नगरचतुष्टये निगमचतुष्टये वा ... वलिसुपहरति ।... *Mānava Grhyasūtra*, (ed. by Dr. Fr. Knauer), ii. 14. 2. 8 (p. 56).

¹⁴ पुररेषकुञ्चित-यत्नैरसत्पतिपूर्वनेत्रवन्द्य । नगरे वसन् सुनियतात्मा सिद्धिमवाप्नोति न तद्वत्ति ।—*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, ii. 3. 53

¹⁵ Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd ed.), pp 120-29.

¹⁶ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp 34-41

¹⁷ *The Questions of King Milinda*, 8 B E, xxxv, pp 2-3

¹⁸ *Buddhacarita*, chaps. i. and x; *Lalitavistara*, chap. iii.

of these cities, where wealth accumulated and where the virtues and vices that wealth brings in its train specially developed, that Vātsyāyana wrote his great work.

ECONOMIC PROSPERITY OF INDIA IN THE AGE OF VĀTSYĀYANA

At the time that Vātsyāyana wrote, India was carrying on an abundant trade, by land and by sea, with China on the one hand and the Roman orient on the other. According to a Chinese book *Funan-tu-suh-tchuan* written in the third century A.C., Kuntien or Kaundinya founded an Indian Colony in Indo-China about B.C. 53, and it soon grew up into a great centre of foreign trade in that quarter. By way of this Brahmanic colony planted in Indo-China, the Indians carried on an ever-increasing maritime trade with China in the approved Chinese method of sending so-called embassies and making an exchange of presents. We read again and again in the Chinese annals of numerous Indian envoys who presented tribute by way of *Jihnan* (modern Annam and Tonquin)¹⁹. With Asia Minor and the near West, India had been intimately connected for a long time as we see from Aśoka's inscriptions; and the settlement of the Kushans as a great Indian ruling power in the north-western marches of the country, led to the opening out of trade-routes to the east and the west, and it placed India in a position of vantage with regard to the trade with the civilised world, with the dominions of the "Son of Heaven" on the one hand and the empire of the Cæsars on the other. When in the second century A.C., not very long before Vātsyāyana, a great Kushan emperor adopted the magnificent title of *Mahārāja-Rājātirāja-Devaputra-Kaisara Kaniṣka*—"The great King, the King of Kings, the Son of Heaven, the Cæsar Kaniṣka", we see that in him there was a fusion of

¹⁹ T. de Lacouperie, *Western Origin of the Chinese Civilisation*, pp. 240-42; see also the *Dawn Magazine*, 1910, Part i, p. 98 and 1911, Part i, pp. 22-22.

the three great civilisations of the time—the Indian, the Chinese and the Roman.²⁰ The currency of the Kushans shows an equally international character and seems to be designed to facilitate the trade of their dominions with the rest of the world; the coins show a strange and wonderful combination of Greek, Roman, Zoroastrian and Indian designs and icons; some of them have Jupiter on one side and Buddha on the other; they have legends in Greek, Iranian or Indian vernaculars and in varied scripts, Greek, Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭhī. There cannot be any doubt that these coins were intended for currency inside India as well as outside and they afforded facility of exchange to the Indian merchants trading with the near West. Vātsyāyana also knew coins of copper, silver and gold. He speaks of a *kāṣṭhāpaṇa* of small value and of the *niṣka* or coin of gold; besides, he refers to the art of examining *rūpyas* or coins as one of the sixty-four *kalās*. Moreover, he uses the word *hiranya* to mean money in general including perhaps, gold and silver coins.²¹

Pliny in the first century A.C. and Ptolemy in the second, testify to the great trade that India had with the Roman empire.²² In the third century when Vātsyāyana lived, this trade must have gone on increasing and we shall not be far mistaken to conjecture that the Brahmanic colonies, that Fa Hien visited in Java, went out about this period. The prosperity that this extensive commerce with the civilised world conferred on India, is fully reflected in the life of the *nāgaraka*, everything about whom, house and furniture, dress and ornaments, sports and pastimes, charity and liberality, bespeak an unstinted expenditure of wealth.

²⁰ *Epigraphia Indica*, xiv, p. 143.

²¹ See R. D. Banerji, *Prācīna-mudrā*, pp. 81-101, for an account of the Kushan coins. For Vātsyāyana's mention of coins cf. वरं चायिकानिष्कादचायिकः कार्यापचः—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 19 (sūtra 30); दण्डपरिषद् ..p. 32; and सर्वकर्मणां तन्मूलत्वादिदण्ड इति वास्तव्यः : p. 337 (sūtra 5); Jayamañgalā explains, विदण्यनव कोकप्रतीया कपदंकाः.

²² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd ed.), pp. 438-44

The literature of the period to which Vātsyāyana belongs amply corroborates the description that he gives of society. But we shall have room only to quote an occasional passage here and there from the works of Bhāsa and from the *Lalitavistara* both of which are supposed to belong to the third century A.C. and, therefore, to have been written about the same time as the *Kāmasūtra*; we may also draw some illustrations from the works of Aśvaghoṣa who flourished about a century earlier and belongs virtually to the same epoch.²³

THE HOUSE OF A NĀGARAKA

The house that the *nāgaraka* builds for his residence shows his taste and love of beauty and the simple but choice furniture and decorations that adorn his rooms show his love of art and his many-sided culture. As we have seen before, the *nāgaraka* builds his house in a city. It has to be in close proximity to a supply of water and is divided into two parts, the inner belonging to the ladies and the outer where, as we shall see presently, the master of the house attends to business and receives visitors. There are a number of rooms each set apart for its special purpose, and attached to the house there must be a *vrkṣavātikā* or a garden with wide grounds, if possible, where flowering plants and fruit-trees can grow as well as kitchen vegetables.²⁴ In the middle of the garden should be excavated either a well, or if there is room enough, a tank or a lake.²⁵ This garden is attached to the inner court and is looked after by the mistress of the house. It is the duty of a good housewife, says Vātsyāyana, to procure the seeds of the common Indian kitchen vegetables and medicinal herbs, and

²³ For the date of the *Lalitavistara* see Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, ii, p. 199. For Bhāsa, see D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on the Ancient History of Indii*. (1918), p. 59.

²⁴ तत्र भवनमासन्नोदकं वृक्षवाटिकावशिशतृक्यवचं द्विवासर्यहं कारयेत् ।.. *Kāmasūtra*, p. 42 (*sūtra* 4)

²⁵ मध्ये कूपं वापीं दीर्घिकां वा खानयेत् ।—*Ibid*, p. 225 (*sūtra* 8).

plant them each in its season.²⁶ In neat and clean spots in the garden where the ground has been well dressed, the lady of the house plants beds of green vegetables,—clumps of the tall sugarcane, patches of stunted shrubs of the mustard and similar herbs, and thickets of the dark *tamāla*.²⁷ The flower-garden equally receives her tender care; she has to see that it is laid out with beds of plants that yield an abundance of flowers—those that regale the nose with their sweet perfume, like the *mallikā*, the *jāti* or the *navamālīkā*, as well as those that delight the eye like the *japā* with its crimson glory or the *kuraṇṭaka* (amaranth) with its unfading yellow splendour, and besides, there should be in this garden, rows of shrubs yielding fragrant leaves or roots, like *bālaku* and *uśīra*. In the gardens there are arbors and sometimes vine-groves where she gets built *sthaṇḍilas* or raised platforms with pleasant and comfortable seats for rest or recreation.²⁸ Flowers should be spread on these seats in these sweet sylvan retreats and a swing be hung at a spot well guarded from the sun by its leafy arbor.²⁹ An abundance of various flowers should also be arranged with art, here and there over the residential house which must be kept scrupulously clean, the floor should be beautifully smooth and polished so as to soothe the eyes; besides attending to these duties the lady of the house should also see that at her abode the morning, noon and evening rites—sacrifices and gifts—are duly observed and the gods worshipped at the sanctuaries of the household; for she must realise, as an ancient teacher,

²⁶ मूलशालुकपलहोदमनकावातकोर्वावकवपुसवातांक-कुशाभ्यालानुस्रवयुकनासाख्यंगुनातिलपवि-
काधिनन्वलयनपक्षाभुप्रवतीनां सर्वविधौर्वा च वीजयद्वयं काले बाधय ।—Ibid, p. 228 (sūtra 29).

²⁷ परिपूतेषु च हरितशकवप्रानिष्टकान्वाञ्जौरकसर्वपाजनीद्वयतपुपातनालुकांश्च कारयेत् ।—Ibid,
p. 225 (sūtra 6)

²⁸ कुलकामलकमल्लिकाजातीकुरवकनवमालिकातनुरनन्वाधर्तनपागुजालान्वांश्च बहुपुष्पान् बाधवो-
दीरकपातिकांश्च हचवाटिकायां च स्खलितानि मनोज्ञानि कारयेत् ।—Ibid, p. 225 (sūtra 7), also
हचवाटिकां वहीकालम्भ्यं ।—Ibid, p. 284 (sūtra 17).

²⁹ खासीर्वा प्रेक्षाद्युक्ता हचवाटिकायां समन्वाया, स्खलितपीठिका च सक्तुमुमेति जवनविन्वाहः ।
—Ibid, p. 45 (sūtra 15).

Gonardiya, has observed, that nothing pleases and charms the heart of a householder so much as a well-kept, neat and tidy home where the gods are respected and the religious duties well observed.³⁰ The mistress of the house should also see that her kitchen is situated in a quiet and retired spot and is clean and attractive.³¹ The proper keeping of the house was thus the particular care of the wife of the *nāgaraka* and the erection of a noble pile of buildings is, according to our author, among the most earnest desires of women.³²

Large and magnificent houses, *harmyas* and *prāsādas*, were known to Vātsyāyana; the *nāgaraka* sometimes might enjoy moonlight on the terrace of a palace and examine the stars and planets with his beloved.³³ The walls of the houses were sometimes beautifully polished so as to reflect the image of a girl, and not infrequently the roof of the house stood on pillars, *stambhas*.³⁴ The *Buddhacarita* mentions an iron pillar and the *Saundarananda Kāvya* speaks of a pillar of gold and also of a minor support or *upastambha*.³⁵ The floor of a palace was sometimes decorated with mosaic work, being inlaid with coral or with precious stones. In the palace-gardens there were *samudra-grhas* or cool summer-houses surrounded by water, washed as it were, by the sea, and also rooms in the walls of which, there were secret

³⁰ वेदज्ञ च ग्रन्थि सुसंयतस्थान विरचितविनिधकुसुमं मंजुष्मन्मिमलं हृद्यदर्भं निषववाचरित-
नखिकर्णं पूजितदीवायतनं कुर्वान् । नम्रतोऽन्वदं गृहस्थानां चित्तप्रादुर्भासनीति गोनर्दीयः ।—*Ibid*, p. 224
(*sūtra* 3).

³¹ महानसं च सुसुतं स्वाहर्षनीयं च ।—*Ibid*, p. 227 (*sūtra* 18).

³² गृहस्थोदारणं करणं महर्षिर्भाष्यैः परिचारकैश्च गृहपरिच्छदलोच्यलता ।—*Ibid*, p. 341
(*sūtra* 26).

³³ हर्षतल्लिखितवोर्वा चन्द्रिकासेवनार्थमासनम् ।—*Ibid*, p. 174 (*sūtra* 19).

³⁴ चादर्थे कुर्वे सलिले वा प्रवीण्यायाऽन्वायापुष्पनमाकारप्रदर्शनार्थमिव कार्यम् ।—*Ibid*, p. 110
(*sūtra* 30); तद्विव कुचसन्दर्भेन लम्बसन्दर्भेन वा स्फुटकामयपौड्येदिति पीडितकम् ।—*Ibid*, p. 96
(*sūtra* 13).

³⁵ लम्बमासनम्—*Buddhacarita*, xiv, 12; सुवर्णलम्बवर्षाचः ।—*Saundarananda Kāvya*,
I, 19; लघुलम्बः पिपतिषी दुर्लभलोच्य वेदज्ञः ।...*Ibid*, xiv, 15.

passages for water to circulate and take away the heat.⁸⁶ Bhāsa's *Śvapna-Vāsavadattam* (Act V) has such a *samudragrha*, and in later dramas also it is not rare; the *Viṣṇu-Smṛti* (V. 117) prescribes punishment for a *samudragrha-bhedaka*. Secret pleasure-houses standing amidst the waters of garden tanks are referred to by Kālidāsa.⁸⁷ Besides the garden, Vātsyāyana has not given much detailed description of the *antahpura* or the inner sanctum of the ladies. Bhāsa designates it as the inner court with apartments or houses on four sides (*abhyntara-catuhśālā*), which suggests the plan of construction of the inner apartments of an Indian house from very ancient times.⁸⁸ This plan combined the advantages of seclusion and privacy together with provision for light and air.

Vātsyāyana describes with greater fulness the outer chambers which the master called particularly his own and where he spent by far the greater portion of his day and night. An examination of the furniture and equipments of these chambers will give us an insight into the life of the man of wealth and fashion in the third century after Christ. The articles that Vātsyāyana first draws attention to, in the master's apartment, are two couches with beds, soft and comfortable and spotlessly white, sinking in the middle, and having rests for the head and feet at the top and the bottom. At the head of his bed is a *kūrca-sthāna*, a stand or perhaps a niche for placing an image of the deity that he worships, as the commentary, Jayamaṅgalā, explains; besides, at the head there is also an elevated shelf serving the purposes of a table whereon are placed articles necessary for his toilet in the early dawn, namely, fragrant ointments such as sandal-paste, a garland of flowers, small pots containing bees'

⁸⁶ वरिः प्रवाहकृद्भिर्न ते दर्शयिष्यामि नविमूढिका इववाटिकां वरीकानक्षपं समुद्रग्रहावादान्
मूढमिषिचचारोविमन्मर्षिभिः — *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 283-84 (sūtra 17).

⁸⁷ दीर्घिकाः मूढनीलनयकाः । — *Raghuvamśa*, xix. 9

⁸⁸ प्रवेष्टतामन्तरागतुःशासनम् । — Bhāsa, *Ārūḍatta*, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri, Act I.
See also *Catuhśālā* in Bhāsa's *Avimāṇaka*. Trivendram Sans. Series, pp. 23, 42, 86.

wax and sweet perfumes, the skin of the *mātulūṅga* or the citron fruit for perfuming the mouth and also betel-leaves prepared with spices and scents. On the floor is a vessel for catching the spittle (*patadgraha*). On the wall, on brackets (elephants' tusks—*nāgadantaka*) are ranged his *viṇā*, the national instrument of music in ancient India, a casket containing brushes and other requisites for painting, a book—preferably a poetical work—and garlands of the yellow amaranth (*Kuraṇṭaka*), chosen because it does not fade or wither soon and therefore is good for decorating the rooms. Not far from the couch, on the floor, is spread a carpet with cushions for the head, and besides, there are boards for playing at chess and dice. Outside the room is the *nāgaraka's* aviary where are hung cages of birds for game and sport;³⁹ we read in the *Buddhacarita* that the birds in such household aviaries in the city of Kapilavastu were disturbed by the hurried movements of ladies hastening to catch a glimpse of the young prince Siddhārtha as he passed along the street.⁴⁰ At a somewhat retired spot in the house are places where our *nāgaraka* amuses himself by working at the lathe or the chisel.⁴¹

The Daily Life of the Nāgaraka.—Vātsyāyana has left us a description of the occupation of the *nāgaraka* during the whole of the day, which, though brief, yet brings up very beautifully the man of fashion of those days before our eyes. Our *nāgaraka* gets up early in the morning and after attending to his morning duties and cleaning his mouth and teeth, proceeds to his toilet. The first article in this toilet

³⁹ बास्त्रे च वासपट्टे सुसज्जसुभयोपधानं मध्ये विनतं वस्त्रोत्तराच्छदं वयनीयं स्नातृ, प्रतिप्रवृत्तिका च । तस्य विरोमणि कूर्चस्थानम् । वेदिका च । तत्र रात्रिभोजनमुत्तेजनं माल्यं सिक्कलकराच्छकं सौमन्विकपुटिका मातुलुङ्गफलचक्षुःस्थानि च स्नुः । सूनी पतङ्गः । गानहन्तावसन्ता वीणा, विनयकचक्रं, वर्तिकासहस्रङ्गी, यः कश्चित् पुष्पाः, कुराण्टकमालाश्च । नातिदूरे सूनी उत्तासारचं समस्तकम् । चाकर्षकचक्रं व्यूतकचक्रं च । तस्य बहिः श्रीकाशकुनिपकराणि ।—*Kāmasūtra*, pp. 43-45 (*sūtras* 5-13).

⁴⁰ विद्यामयस्त्री यद्वपश्चिस्तृणान्धीन्यवेगाच्च समाधिपत्यः ।—*Buddhacarita*, iii. 15

⁴¹ एकांशे च तर्जुनचक्रस्थानमालां च श्रीकानाम् ।—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 45 (*sūtra* 14).

is the *anulepana*, a fragrant ointment ordinarily made of fine sandal-wood paste, or of preparations of a variety of sweet-smelling substances.⁴³ He applies a suitable quantity of this ointment to his person; it would be considered bad taste if he used too much of this perfume; he then scents his clothes in the sweet-smelling smoke of incense (*dhūpa*) thrown into the fire and wears a garland on the head, or hangs it round his neck. He applies collyrium made of various substances to his eyes. To his lips, already reddened by the betel he has chewed, he applies *alaktaka* (a red dye made from lac), to impart a deeper crimson to them and then rubs them over with wax to make the dye fast. Then he looks at himself in a glass, chews spiced betel-leaves to perfume his mouth, and proceeds to attend to his business.⁴⁴ He attends to his hair and wears rings on his fingers that are sometimes of great value.⁴⁵ He generally wears two garments, a *vāsas* or *vastra* and an *uttariya* or a wrap for the upper part of the body. This upper garment was sometimes very highly scented with rich perfumes or flowers.⁴⁶ Bhāsa tells us that the rich fragrance of Cārudatta's wearing apparel assured Vasantasenā that though impoverished, he was not quite unmindful of the amenities of youthful society.⁴⁶ At Nanda's house at Kapilavastu when Buddha entered it, some of the maids were preparing the perfumed

⁴³ अङ्गुलीकृतं चन्दनमन्त्रागुलेपनं ।—Ibid, p. 178 (sūtra 14)

⁴⁴ स प्रातरुत्थाय कृतमिश्रतक्रयः, गृहीतदन्तपावनः, नात्रयाऽगुलेपनं पूं कञ्जमिति गृहीत्वा, दत्त्वा सिक्चकामलजताकं च हस्तोऽर्धे मुखम्, गृहीतमुखवासतामूलः काप्याङ्गुलितिलैश्च ।—Ibid, pp. 45-46 (sūtra 16). Jayamāṅgalā explains—मात्रयेति, प्रभृतागुलेपनादिवह्वादिनामरकः स्नात्, कार्यागुहाने प्रस्तुतत्वात् ।—p. 46.

⁴⁵ अङ्गुलीयकस्य च निधानम् ।—Ibid, p. 292 (sūtra 20) etc. अनेकयतसङ्ख्यसूक्ष्ममङ्गुलीयकम् । *Lalita-vistara* (ed. by Lefmann), xiii, 142.

⁴⁶ See *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 274, 198, etc., also तत्र महर्हिगन्धमुत्तरीयं कुसुमं चार्वायं स्वादङ्गुलीयकं च तद्वसातामूलवह्वं मोक्षीगमनोद्यतस्य कैशङ्कपुष्पाचनम् ।—Ibid, p. 261 (sūtra 21).

⁴⁷ गञ्जिका—(प्रावारकं गृहीत्वा सङ्घर्षम्) अलुदासीयं जीवत्वं स पठवासगन्धी इति ।—Bhāsa, *Cārudatta* (Trivendrum Sans. Series), Act i, p. 28

paste while others were perfuming the clothes.⁴⁷ In the *Lalitavistara* we read that King Śuddhodana ordered that all those who would attend on Māyādevī on her journey to the garden of Lumbini, should wear clothes soft and fine, coloured with pleasant dyes and smelling sweet with the best of the scents. Similarly, in another place in the same book, we read of a perfumed garment of the exquisite colour of the *nāgakeśara*.⁴⁸

Sweet scents, we thus see, played a very important part in the toilet of the *nāgaraka*. He made an abundant use of flowers, he rubbed sweet-scented ointments over his body and besides, he used other perfumes—*Saugandhikas*—and a box of scents, a *saugandhika-putikā*, was kept handy by every *nāgaraka*. He perfumes his mouth with betel-leaves prepared with sweet-scented spices. The fragrant smoke of incense was made to circulate through his rooms and impart a perfume to his clothes. The *Lalita-vistara* corroborates Vātsyāyana about the plentiful use of perfumes. Besides the scented ointment or *anulepana*, the *Lalita-vistara* mentions scented waters of various kinds, perfumed oils and fragrant powders of sandal, flowers or other sweet-smelling things.⁴⁹ These objects—flowers, perfumes and betel-leaves formed the most ordinary gifts exchanged between friends and lovers.⁵⁰

After attending to his business in the morning, the *nāgaraka* takes his bath; this he does every day but there are other attendant circumstances that are repeated at varying intervals. Every other day he gets his limbs massaged and

⁴⁷ काचित् पिद्वान्निर्दिष्टं हि भस्मीकृतं काचित् चवासयत् ।—*Saundarananda. Kāvya*, iv. 26.

⁴⁸ वस्त्रमिदं सुगन्धं भावयन् विचित्रं ।

वस्त्रं बहु मनीषां प्राप्नोषा उदयाः ॥—*Lalita-vistara* (ed. by Lefmann), vii. 80; श्रीनन्दनं नामपुण्यविराजं वस्त्रं सुगन्धं शुभा ।—*Ibid*, xviii. 282.

⁴⁹ विविधगन्धोदकपूर्वचटपिष्टहोरेः ।—*Ibid*, xv. 218. See also *ibid*, vii. 96 and xiv. 269; दिव्यवस्त्रपवित्रासित-सैन्धवपिष्टहोतामि ।—*Ibid*, vii. 96, देही पुष्पायस्-सगर-चन्दन-चूर्ण-वर्षा ।—*Ibid*, xxi. 342.

⁵⁰ *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 259, 281, 274, 308, 319.

shampooed (*utsādana*); every third day he cleanses his person with soap-like substances that yield a lather with water (*phenaka*). This last was considered an indispensable article for one who aspired to decent life in those days, as we see that even when a man became too poor to maintain himself as a *nāgaraka* and became a *piṭṭhamarda*, his *phenaka* or soap marked him out from ordinary men. As regards shaving, the *nāgaraka* was behind the modern man of fashion; he got his chin and lips cleaned every fourth day and this was probably considered conducive to long life (*āyusyam*) and a more thorough tonsorial operation was performed every fifth or every tenth day. This completes the bath.⁵¹ Though he was thus not so fastidious as our modern dandies as regards the hair on his face, he was certainly far more careful about his finger-nails. They were specially dressed, particularly those of the left hand; the points of the nails should always be fine and sometimes they were cut into three or more teeth like a saw. The nails must be well set, smooth, bright, scrupulously clean, not broken, and soft and glossy in appearance. The people of Gauda (modern Bengal) had very fine and long nails that imparted a grace to their hands and were very attractive to women, and the southerners (the *Dākṣiṇātyāḥ*) had small nails which were good for work but of which they made very great artistic use, and the people of *Mahārāṣṭra* were midway between the two. The use of the nails was a great art which the *nāgaraka* took much trouble in acquiring; with them, he skilfully and without causing pain, affixed on his beloved, marks that might be straight, curved, circular, semicircular like the crescent moon, or which might resemble the tiger's claw, the peacock's foot, the leap of a hare or the leaf of a blue lotus.⁵² Similar care was taken of the teeth and artistic use made of them

⁵¹ निम्नं स्नानं, तृतीयकमुत्सादनं, तृतीयकः फेनकः, चतुर्थकमाशुष्यन्, पञ्चमकं दध्मनं वा प्रत्याशुष्यन्निष्करीयन् ।—Ibid., p. 46 (*sūtra* 17).

⁵² Ibid., pp. 112-20 (*sūtras* 1-31).

because, Vātsyāyana says, no other art increases love so much as the clever use of the nails and teeth.⁵³ Besides attending to the daily ablution and the other things noted above, for keeping his person clean, the *nāgaraka* must always carry a handkerchief (*Karpaṭa*) with himself for removing perspiration.⁵⁴

He takes two meals a day, in the forenoon, and the afternoon, but according to *Cārāyaṇa*, an earlier teacher, the last meal had better be taken in the evening.⁵⁵ Three kinds of hard or soft food and drinks, *bhakṣya*, *bhojya* and *peya* corresponding to the *khādanīya*, *bhojanīya* and *pāna* of the Buddhist sacred books⁵⁶, have been mentioned by Vātsyāyana. Among his articles of diet we notice rice, wheat, barley, pulses, a large number of vegetables, milk—and its preparations including *ghee*, meat and sweets, besides salt and oil. Among the sweets we have molasses (*gul*), and sugar (*Śarkarā*) as well as sweetmeats (*Khaṇḍa-Khādyāni*).⁵⁷ Fish is nowhere mentioned by our author as an article of diet. Flesh was eaten boiled as soup, and dry or roasted. To desist from eating meat, as prescribed in the law books, was considered to be an act of merit (*dharma*).⁵⁸ The *nāgaraka's* drinks (*pānakāni*) were also various: besides water and milk, he drank fresh juice, perhaps of the various kinds of palm, extracts of meat, *congey* (or rice gruel), *sherbets*, juice of fruits such as mangoes and citrons mixed with sugar; of stronger drinks, he used various wines like *surā*, *madhu*, *mairya* and *āsavas*,—all intoxicating liquors of various preparations—which he drank from a *chaṣaka*, a vessel of wood or metal, often accompanied by

⁵³ Ibid, pp. 121-30 (*sūtras* 1-42).

⁵⁴ हातचाच र'हतकाचानेदापनीदः ।—Ibid, p. 47 (*sūtra* 18)

⁵⁵ पूर्वोक्तपराक्रमोर्वीजनम् । सायं चारायचक्ष ।—Ibid, p. 47 (*sūtras* 19 and 20).

⁵⁶ *Mahāvagga*, vi. 28 10 and vi 35. 2.

⁵⁷ See *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 228-30, 337, 369-71; also जलानुपानं वा खण्डखाद्यकनम् च । अतिहासायुक्तमपानपुष्पीयातम् ।—Ibid, p. 174 (*sūtra* 16).

⁵⁸ ग्रहसेव्य मांसमवादिभ्यः प्राजादिषु निवारणे चर्माः ।—Ibid, p. 12 (*sūtra* 7)

various kinds of sweets, and savouries of bitter and acrid taste in order to impart a relish to drink.⁵⁹

After the midday meal the *nāgaraka* enjoys his siesta, he diverts himself by pleasant talk with his friends, the *pīthamarda*, the *viṭa* or the *vidūṣaka*, listens to the talk of parrots, views fights between cocks, quails or rams, or is engaged in various kinds of artistic enjoyments. Besides the animals mentioned above, he also kept for his own amusement a number of cuckoos for their sweet melody and peacocks for their glorious plumage and also monkeys. At the king's palace, besides these animals of sport, lions and tigers were also kept in cages.⁶⁰

In the afternoon, after he has dressed himself, the *nāgaraka* goes out to attend a *goṣṭhi* or a social gathering where he engages, as we shall see below, in pleasant intellectual diversions with his friends and in tests of skill in the various arts. At night-fall, our *nāgaraka* enjoys music, vocal and instrumental, occasionally attended with dances. After music, in his own room which has been made sweet and clean and gay with flowers, and while its fragrant air is charged with the breath of sweet incense circulating through it, the *nāgaraka* with his associates and friends, awaits there the arrival of his mistress. This completes his daily life.⁶¹

A word here about the *nāgaraka's* friends whom we meet

⁵⁹ चक्षुरसकशूभनक्षयवान् भटनलोपदंशानि पानकानि दूतकलानि शुक्लमांसं मातुलुङ्गचमकाणि समर्कराणि च यथादेशसाक्षात् च । चषकहस्तः पाययेत् ।—Ibid, p. 174 (sūtras 17 and 15); तन्मनुष्यैरीयाद्यन् विविधवचसकलहरितयाकलितकटुकाक्षोपदंशान् वैष्ठाः पाययेदुपविषेयुश्च ।—Ibid, p. 52 (sūtra 38).

⁶⁰ भोजनानन्तरं शुकसारिकाप्रसापनव्यापाराः चावककुट्टनैषयुषानि तासाञ्च कलाक्रीडाः, पीठमर्दयिटविदूषकावया व्यापारा, दिवाशब्दाश्च ।—Ibid, p. 47 (sūtra 21). निबलुङ्गुटावकसारिका परशतमयूरानरखनाचामवेचनम् ।—Ibid, p. 229 (sūtra 33) क्रीडावगान् यन्त्राणि शत्रुनाम् व्याघ्रसिंहपक्षरादीनि च ।—Ibid, p. 284 (sūtra 17); see also p. 307 (sūtra 25).

⁶¹ गृहीतप्रसाधनसापराजं गीतौषिहाराः । प्रदोषे च संगीतकानि । तदन्ते च प्रसाधिते वासगृहे संचारितसुरभिषुदे ससङ्गायस्य श्रव्यायानभिसारिकाणां प्रतीचर्च, दूतीनां प्रेषणं, खयं वा वननम् ।—Ibid, pp. 47-48 (sūtras 22-24). नागरकः सङ्ग निवृजनेन परिचारकेण कृतयुषोपहारि सचारितसुरभिषुदे रज्ज्वावधि प्रसाधिते वासगृहे etc., सङ्गमनश्च वा गीतं वादिष्व ।—Ibid, p. 172 (sūtras 1 and 7).

again and again in the *Kāmasūtra*, will not be out of place. Besides the many artists and craftsmen who served him in his quest of love and pleasure and who are called his *mitras* or companions by Vātsyāyana, the *nāgaraka* appears to have possessed some real, true and devoted friends. Vātsyāyana says that fast and genuine friendship often sprang up among those who had grown up together from infancy tended by the same nurse, who in early boyhood were fellow playmates or were at school together, those who were marked by the same temperament and the same tastes in pleasure and sport, were attached to each other by mutual obligations and whose closest secrets were known to each other. Vātsyāyana regards it particularly fortunate in friendship when the friendship has come down between two families for several generations, has never been tainted by selfishness or greed, nor has been changed by time or by any considerations whatsoever and where the mutual secrets have never been betrayed.⁸²

Sports and Festivities.—Besides the various sports and amusements that enlivened the daily life of the *nāgaraka*, there were many high days and holidays when he made merry with his friends and companions. With regard to all these games and festivities enjoyed in company, Vātsyāyana gives the sage advice that they can be relished best in the company of friends of the same social status, but not with those that are either above or below one, because permanent good relations and mutual understanding can only be established when each party in a sport seeks to afford pleasure to the other and where each is honoured and respected by the other.⁸³

⁸² सहायसुहृद्भित्तुपकारसंबन्धं समानशीलव्यसनं सहाज्यादिनं यथास्य समीचीं रहस्यानि च विद्याद वक्ष्ये चासं विद्यादा भावपथं सहसंज्ञं निवृत्तम् । पित्रपैतानहमपिसंवादकमहट्टैकज्ञतं वक्ष्ये पुनर्मनोमनो-
नपरिहारावैमनकविद्यावैति निवृत्तसंपत् ।—Ibid, pp. 68-69 (sūtras 35-36); see also (sūtras 37 and 38).

⁸³ समसाध्याः सहक्रीडा विद्यादाः सहस्यतानि च ।

समानैरेव साध्याश्च भोक्तृभोग्यपि साधयैः ॥

परस्परसुखासादा क्रीडा यच्च प्रयुज्यते ।

विशेषयनो चास्मीत्यं संबन्धः स-विधीयते ॥—Ibid, p. 190 (sūtras 22 and 23).

Vatsyāyana classifies the occasional festivities into five groups. In the first place he mentions the festivals in connection with the worship of different deities (*samāja*, *yātrā* and *ghaṭā*), sometimes attended by grand processions; then come the *goṣṭhis* or social gatherings, of both sexes; next *āpānakas* or drinking parties and *udyāna-yātrās* or garden-parties, and last of all various social diversions in which many persons take part (*samasyā kṛiḍā*).⁶⁴

Samāja.—At the temple of *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of learning and the fine arts, on a fixed day every fortnight, that is, on the *tithi* or lunar phase specially auspicious to the deity worshipped, a *samāja* or an assemblage of *nāgarakas* was held regularly. They were accompanied by musicians, dancers and other artists permanently employed by them for performances in honour of the deity. Besides, when any itinerant parties of actors, dancers or other such “artists” visited the town, they were afforded an opportunity of showing their skill at the temple before the divinity. On the day following the performance the party had to be given their stipulated rewards, and then they might be dismissed or asked to repeat their performances, at the pleasure of their patrons. On special occasions, when performances on a grand scale were arranged, parties of actors might co-operate with each other and give a joint performance and it was the duty of the corporation or guild (*gaṇa*) to which the *nāgaraka* belonged to honour and treat with hospitality the strangers who attended these gatherings. Similar festivities of various kinds were held on a grand scale in honour of different deities according to the customs appertaining to each.⁶⁵ On some of these

⁶⁴ घटानिवन्धन, गोष्ठीसमवायः, समापानकम्, उद्यानगमनं; समसया. श्लोकाच्च प्रपञ्चयेत् ।—Ibid, p. 49 (sūtra 26).

⁶⁵ पक्षस्य सासस्य वा प्रजातेऽङ्गनि सरसत्वा भवने नियुक्ताणां निर्वर्त्त सम्राजः । कुशीसवासानमयः प्रेक्षकानीषां दद्युः । द्वितीयेऽङ्गनि तेभ्यः पूजा नियतं कुर्यात् । तस्मिन् यथाशक्तानीषां दर्शनमुत्सर्गो वा । अथनोत्सवेषु चेषां परस्परकौककार्यता । आगन्तूनां च हस्तसमवायानां पूजनमभ्युपपत्तिरिति जगत्पर्यायः । एतेन तं सं देवताविशेषस्तुष्टिस्तु संयुजितस्त्रितयोर्विधिः घटा व्याख्याताः ।—Ibid, pp. 49-51 (sūtras 27-33).

occasions there were processions (*yātrā*) like the procession of images that Fa-Hien saw in Khoten when "they swept and watered the streets inside the city, making a grand display in the lanes and byways."⁶⁶ In these processions both men and women joined and Vātsyāyana says that they afforded opportunities for meeting one's lady-love.⁶⁷ Even a virtuous matron could attend a religious ceremony with the permission of her husband.⁶⁸

Goṣṭhī.—We now come to the *goṣṭhī* or social gathering where the *nāgaraka* diverts himself in pleasant talk with persons of the same status and position as himself by their education, intelligence, character, wealth and age; there he engages in competitions in making verses or in various other sports of skill and art.⁶⁹ Affording, as these *goṣṭhis* did, opportunities for the *nāgaraka* to exhibit his intellectual accomplishments and mastery of the arts, they were most popular with him, being attended by him every afternoon and they were also held on a comparatively large scale on special occasions. Of the branches of literary art in which competitions were held, we may glean the following from Vātsyāyana's list of the sixty-four arts: there were competitions in the extempore composition of verses, completion of a stanza of which a part only was given, the proper reading of books with proper intonation and accent, either singly or in groups, the reading of passages in prose or verse that on account of many harsh sounds were hard to pronounce, and the art of composing and expounding passages written in a secret code or cypher. These competitions required knowledge of foreign tongues and provincial dialects, knowledge of

⁶⁶ Legge, *Fa-Hien*, p. 18.

⁶⁷ स तु (समागतः) द्वैतमिगमने याचायासुद्यानक्रौडायां नञ्वावतरणे विवाहे यज्ञव्यसनीदृशवेद्यसुगुह्यसि वीरविद्यसि जलपदस्य चक्रादीहरे प्रेक्षाव्यापारिषु तेषु तेषु च कार्येषु ।—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 274 (*sūtra* 41).

⁶⁸ यावाहे विवाहे यज्ञे गमनं सखीभिः सह गीर्हो द्वैतमिगमनमिष्यतुज्जाता कुर्यात् ।—*Ibid*, p. 226 (*sūtra* 15).

⁶⁹ वैष्णवमने समायासमन्तमग्रीद्वसिति वा समागवियादुद्विषीद्विषितवयसां सह वैष्णविरगुह्यैः राक्षसैरासुनवन्नी गीर्हो । तत्र चैवां काव्यसमस्य कक्षासमस्य च ।—*Ibid*, p. 51 (*sūtras* 34 and 35).

lexicons and special vocabularies, of metres and the figures of rhetoric, the knowledge of dramas and their stories, in short, a very comprehensive literary and artistic training. One game is described called *pratimāla* in which a number of persons had to recite verses one after another, the condition being that every reciter must repeat a verse commencing with the letter with which the previous speaker's verse ended and any one unable to supply his verse sufficiently quickly had to pay a forfeit. Besides these literary competitions, there were tests of proficiency in the fine arts such as painting, singing, instrumental music and the like and also of manual skill and dexterity in many of the practical arts such as the stringing together of flowers in a garland and so on.⁷⁰

At these gatherings were invited *ganikās* or brilliant artists who by their education and knowledge of the arts, could please the *nāgaraka* by meeting him on his own ground, viz., in mental and aesthetic culture, and who were therefore loved and honoured by the people. Sometimes the parties were held at the house of one of the *ganikās*; or the *nāgarakas* met at each other's house, or they assembled in the *sabhā*, the public hall of the city or of the *gaṇa* or corporation to which every citizen belonged. Here the citizens came together to discuss politics and philosophy, or to hold competitions in literature or art, or merely to enjoy themselves in convivial parties. This *sabhā* of Vātsyāyana is the direct descendant of the *samiti* or *pariṣad* of the Vedic times, at one of which, viz., that of the *Pañcālas*, Śvetaketu Āruṇeya who is reputed to be the founder of the science of erotics was defeated by a Kṣattriya.⁷¹

⁷⁰ मानवी कान्यक्रिया, कान्यसमस्यापूरणम्, पुस्तकवाचनम्, संपाद्यम्, दुर्वाचकयोगाः, कोष्ठिक-
विकल्पाः, देशभाषाविज्ञानम्, अभिधानकोषः, छन्दोज्ञानम्, नाटकाख्यायिकादग्नेयम्, प्रतिमाज्ञा। गीतम्,
वाद्यम्, नृत्यम्, आलेख्यम्; साख्यन्यनविकल्पाः, शिखरकापीकथोजनम्, etc.—Ibid, p. 32

⁷¹ तस्यासुख्यका लोककान्ताः पूज्याः प्रीतिसमानावाहृतिताः, Ibid, p. 52 (sūtra 36). For
Śvetaketu, see ibid, p. 5 (sūtra 9); also, जेतकेतुर्ह वा आरुणेयः पञ्चालानां परिषद्माजनाम् ;
Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad Pl. 2. 1, and जेतकेतुर्हर्षेयः पञ्चालानां समितिमियाय , *Chāndogyaopaniṣad*,
v. 3. 1.

At the *goṣṭhi* were also discussed the sixty-four *Pañcāla* or *kāma-kalās* and Vātsyāyana declares that a person possessing a knowledge of this sixty-four, even though devoid of all the other sciences, leads the talk at the *goṣṭhi* of men and women; and on the other hand, a person who speaks cleverly on other subjects but knows not the sixty-four, is not much respected in the discussions in the assembly of the learned.⁷²

At the *goṣṭhi* one is neither to speak too much in Sanskrit for he may then be considered a pedant, just as in England two centuries ago to write English in strict accordance with orthography and syntax was considered not necessary for a gentleman; nor should the *nāgaraka* speak too much in a local dialect, because then he ran the risk of being regarded as uneducated and uncultured; he should strike a middle course and have full control over both and then he was sure to win great respect.⁷³ The prevalent language of the period as seen in inscriptions and in the Mahāyāna literature, bears testimony to the fact that the current speech at the time, at least among the cultured classes, was a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. The learned people like Aśvaghoṣa, of course, wrote pure Sanskrit, but the language of conversation among the educated was apparently a mixture of Sanskrit and the provincial dialect (*deśabhāṣā*) as recommended by the author of the *Kāmasūtra*.

There were *goṣṭhi*s for sinister purposes too in the days of Vātsyāyana who warns the *nāgaraka* against frequenting an assembly that is disliked by the people, that is not governed by proper rules and hence is likely to indulge in license or

⁷² शुभसम्पत्त्यर्थं चतुर्विधवर्जितः ।
निबलसंघदि नात्यर्थं कथासु परिपूज्यते ॥
वर्जितोऽप्यन्यविज्ञानेर्दुतया यत्नसंज्ञतः ।

उ गोष्ठां नगरादीनां कथासुर्वं विनाहते ॥—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 182 (*sūtras* 50-51).

⁷³ नात्यन्तं संज्ञतेनेव नात्यन्तं देशभाषया ।

अथा गोष्ठीषु कथयन्तीति अङ्गमती मयेत् ॥—*Ibid*, p. 58 (*sūtra* 50).

to run beyond the bounds of decency; nor should he attend a *goṣṭhi* that is intent upon doing mischief to others. A person wins success in life by attending an association that makes the imparting of pleasure to people its sole business and has sport and diversion for its sole object.⁷⁴

The *goṣṭhi* on account of its association with art, refinement and culture, was much appreciated by the people in Vātsyāyana's times. A *nāgaraka* was expected to be liberal in spending on *goṣṭhis* and his success in courtship and love depended in no small measure on his power to shine in the sports and festivities including the *goṣṭhi* and *samāja*.⁷⁵ In Bhāsa's dramas we meet with many references to *goṣṭhi*; his *Avimāraka* mourns the supposed loss of his friend who was humorous at *goṣṭhis*.^{76a}

Women also met together in *goṣṭhis* or social assemblies among themselves. For an unmarried girl it was considered a qualification that she was fond of *goṣṭhis* and *kalās*. Married ladies also sometimes, with the permission of their husbands, instituted among their own friends *goṣṭhis* or social gatherings where they discussed artistic and literary matters. But a married woman who was too fond of instituting *goṣṭhis* was looked upon with suspicion, specially one who arranged such gatherings in the house of a youthful neighbour.⁷⁶ In Bhāsa's *Avimāraka* (Act V) the maids invite the *Vidūṣaka* to recount a story which they would listen to among their *goṣṭhījanas* in the inner court.^{76a}

⁷⁴ 'सामोही लोकविचिष्टा या च स्नेहविरिञ्चि ।

परिहासिका या च न तानवतरिषुधः ॥

लोकविज्ञानगुणविन्वा क्रौडामात्रिककार्यया ।

मोह्या सङ्घर्षे विद्यालोके सिद्धिं नियच्छति ॥—Ibid, p. 58 (sūtras 51-2).

⁷⁵ 'कविराख्यानकुशलो—विविधमित्रलो—सटागोहीमेषकसमाजसमस्तलोचनयोरो—उपपद्य इति नायकगुणः'—Ibid, p. 302 (sūtra 12).

^{76a} 'मोहीपु हास्यः', Trivendrum Series, p. 69.

⁷⁶ 'मोहीकथादिना चेति नायिकागुणः—Kāmasūtra, p. 303 (sūtra 13); सखीभिः सङ्घ मोही । —p. 226 (sūtra 15); गङ्गाप्रातिविश्वरूपे मोहीयोजिनी ।—p. 254 (sūtra 52).

^{76a} 'इमं मन्त्रिषु चतुर्णां पवित्रिषु मोहीजनेन सङ्घ दुर्गमं सुचानि, Trivendrum Series, p. 86-

सङ्घ वज्रस्य चतुर्णां, सङ्घविचित्र मोहीजनेन सङ्घ सुचानि, p. 87.

Āpānaka.—Besides the *goṣṭhis* the *nāgarakas* also met at each other's house to hold drinking parties where they drank various kinds of liquors with sauces of various tastes and flavours; but abstention from wine was considered a special qualification in a *nāgaraka*.⁷⁷

Garden Parties.—Next we come to another diversion which was very dear to the soul of the *nāgaraka*, viz., *udiyāna-yātrā* or picnics in gardens. Every great city in those days was surrounded by extensive gardens where the residents of the city could seek some relief from the congested streets of the town. Round Kapilavastu, says the *Lalitavistara*, five hundred gardens sprang up for the diversions of Bodhisattva; and prince Siddhārtha went out through the gates of the city for enjoying himself in the gardens outside.⁷⁸ In the *Kāmasūtra* also we find that these gardens were outside the town and a whole day was spent in the picnic there. Early in the morning a party of well-dressed *nāgarakas* would go out of the town mounted on horses accompanied by *gaṇikās* and followed by servants; there they would arrange for their daily meal and pass the time in pleasant games of chance or in diverting themselves with the fights of cocks, quails or rams or in any other way that they pleased; in the afternoon they would return wearing some token of remembrance of the picnic such as a bunch of flowers or a twig from a garden-tree. Similar parties were enjoyed in connection with sports in the water, which took place in artificial lakes or tanks from which all mischievous water-animals had first been removed.⁷⁹ Picnicing in the gardens outside the city was

⁷⁷ See footnote, 59 and 75 above

⁷⁸ एष बोध्यालयाणि समन्तात्तनुरागं प्रादुर्बभूवुर्बोधिसत्त्वस्य परिभोगाय ।—*Lalita-vistara*, (ed. by Lefmann), vii 95; बोधिसत्त्वस्य पूर्वेषु नगरवारीबोध्यालयाभिननिनिष्कामतो भङ्गता व्यूहिन etc. Ibid, xiv. 188-191.

⁷⁹ पूर्वाह्ण एव सर्वजनाकारणविषया वैश्यानिः सद्यः परिवारिकानुमता मन्त्रेण देवविष्णीं च यात्रां तमेवागच्छन् कुक्षुटलावकमेवयुद्धयन्तेः मेघाभिरनुकूलैश्च शिट्टितैः काचं गमयित्वाऽपराह्णे यद्गीततदुद्यानोपजीव-
चिक्रास्तत्रैव प्रत्यागच्छेयुः । एतेन रचितोद्भूतोद्भवाणां वीर्यं जलजीवात्मनः व्युत्थातम् ।—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 58 (śūtras 40-41).

very popular in the days of Vātsyāyana who again and again speaks of it. His description of *udyānayātrā* agrees in every particular with that given in *Mṛcchakaṭika*, the only difference being that in the drama, Cārudatta goes out in a bullock-cart instead of on horseback. A *nāgaraka*'s liberality was often tested by his readiness to spend on these garden picnics and dramatic performances. A king who has many wives, is advised by Vātsyāyana to please every one of them by such shows and garden parties.⁸⁰ Unmarried girls, and even married women, sometimes went to these picnics; a virgin on her way to a garden party was sometimes snatched away from her friends and guardians for the purposes of marriage.⁸¹ Ladies perhaps went on such picnics in parties of their own sex, because Vātsyāyana says that *udyāna-yātrās* afforded opportunities for meeting and making offers of love to them.⁸² But picnics arranged by married women appear to be rather rare. It was only a *punarbhū*, that is, a widow who had attached herself to a second husband, that induced her adopted lover to institute these picnics and convivial assemblies at which she herself took part.⁸³

Samasya-kṛīḍā.—Last of all we come to the sports that Vātsyāyana calls *samasya-kṛīḍā* or *sambhūya-kṛīḍā*, that is social diversions in which a number of persons took part. He says that they varied with each country and province. Of about a score of them he has given only the names from which their character may sometimes be surmised. Some of them are well known up to the present day, at least in parts of India, such as *Kaumudī-jāgara*, in which the whole night of the full moon in the month of Āśvina is passed without sleep by playing at dice or similar other amusements, and

⁸⁰ मेघोद्यानव्यागशीलः ।—Ibid, p. 253 (sūtra 50); उद्यानगमनेः—एकेकाननुरक्षयेत् ।—Ibid, p. 245 (sūtra 89).

⁸¹ बालान्तरमुद्यानं वा नक्षत्रीं विदित्वा सुसंभृतसहायो गच्छकस्यैव रक्षिणी विवाह्य इत्यादि ।—Ibid, p. 222 (sūtra 27).

⁸² Ibid, p. 258 (sūtra 6); also p. 274 (sūtra 41).

⁸³ Ibid, p. 239 (sūtra 44); also p. 240 (sūtra 59).

Sports of Girls.—Some of the sports of girls have been described by Vātsyāyana, as well as some of their playthings. The girls took delight in making garlands of flowers, building small houses of earth or wood, playing with dolls, or in cooking imaginary food with such materials as earth etc. They sometimes played games of chance with dice or cards, or other games like “odd and even,” the game of “close fists” and so on; or they might play the game of finding out the middle finger or the sport with six pebbles; sometimes a number of girls played together at games involving some exercise of the limbs (*Kṣēditakāni*) such as hide and seek, spinning round holding each other’s out-stretched arms, blindman’s buff, games with salt or heaps

¹¹ See *Kāmasūtra*, p. 54 (sūtra 42) and p. 283 (sūtra 11); for *Hallāśaka* cf. *ब्रह्मसूत्र-प्रदीपिकायां योगशास्त्रे*:—p. 176 (sūtra 25) and see *East and West*, i, pp. 748 ff. (May, 1902).

of wheat.⁸⁶ We see from this list that many of these sports and games are much the same as those in vogue at the present day among Indian girls and boys.

The games and festivities of the *nāgaraka* are, as we see from the description given above, the diversions of a seeker after pleasure and amusement—of one that had plenty of leisure to enjoy and an ample fortune to provide the means of enjoyment. Among manly sports, wrestling matches were known to Vātsyāyana, but the *nāgaraka* appears to have been rather a spectator at these games than one who took an active part in them; the *Kāmasūtra* also speaks of hunting as a pastime that becomes a source of pleasure by practice, when one has acquired some skill in it and this seems to be the one manly sport that the *nāgaraka* knows of.⁸⁷

THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The Nāgaraka's Wife.—While the life of a *nāgaraka* has been painted by Vātsyāyana as a round of pleasures, that of his wife presents a striking contrast and is a round of duties. The picture presented by him of a wife is in no way inferior to the ideal held up in the *Dharmaśāstras* and in many respects he gives greater details.⁸⁸ She attends on her husband with all the love and devotion a devotee shows to the deity he worships. She ministers to his personal needs, looks after his food and drink, as well as his toilet and his amusements; she tries to appreciate his likes and dislikes, welcomes his

⁸⁶ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 201 (sūtras 5-7).

⁸⁷ लक्ष्मीर्बुधे—*Ibid*, p. 84 (sūtra 57); प्रीतिः स्वाभ्यासिकौ ज्ञेया समयादिषु कर्मसु ।—*Ibid*, p. 90 (sūtra 2).

⁸⁸ For the section of the *Kāmasūtra* dealing with the character of the virtuous wife see pp. 224-46. This section has not been dealt with here in detail as the whole of it has been translated by Prof. P. Peterson in his paper on "Vātsyāyana on the Duties of a Hindu Wife," read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay (16th December, 1891) and published in the *Journal of the Anthro Soc of Bom* 1892, pp. 459-66. The same learned Professor has written upon "Courtship in Ancient India," as given in the section of the *Kāmasūtra* dealing with it (*Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. S.* xviii), and hence, we have omitted a consideration of that section including the rules of marriage.

friends with proper presents, respects and loves his parents and relatives and is liberal to his servants; when she finds that he is coming home, she hastens to meet him and waits upon him herself; in his games and sports she follows him; she sleeps after him and wakes up before him; even when offended, she does not speak too bitterly to him. She may attend a festive assembly only with his permission and in the company of her friends. She does not even give away anything without his knowledge. She should do nothing that might rouse his suspicion against her fidelity; she should avoid the company of women of questionable character such as female ascetics, actresses, fortune-tellers, or women given to the practice of black art (*mūlakārikā*), nor should she loiter about in solitary parts of the house. She might take lessons in the *Kāmasūtra* or in the subsidiary arts, if her husband so wishes, and he may occasionally himself give these lessons.⁸⁰ One is here reminded of Bhāsa's *Udayana* who calls his beloved queen "his dear disciple,"⁸¹ and of the beautiful line of Kalidāsa (with whom our author has so many points of contact) where Aja mourns the loss of Indumatī, his "beloved pupil in the fine arts."⁸²

There is an atmosphere of control and restraint about her. In her talk she is moderate and never speaks or laughs aloud; she does not return an answer when reproved by her husband's parents. She does not give herself airs when she enjoys great good fortune. In her dress she practises moderation: when going out on festive occasions, she wears a few ornaments and only a few garments of fine and soft texture, uses perfumes and ointments very moderately and adorns herself with only white flowers. But when she is going to meet her husband, she takes the greatest care with her toilet; then she makes

* ⁸⁰ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 28 (sūtras 2 and 3); p. 197 (sūtra 36), and अमुःवर्गं शिष्यम् । p. 310 (sūtra 9)

⁸¹ Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadattam*, Act V, हा प्रिये, हा शिष्यप्रिये etc.

⁸² शिष्यप्रिया वसति वसतिवती ।—*Raghuvamśa*, viii 57

herself tidy, sweet and clean, she puts on many ornaments, wears flowers of various hues and smells, uses perfumes and in every way makes herself attractive. Flowers were worn in garlands hanging from the neck (*śraja*), or in chaplets (*āpīṭa*) on the head, or were simply put in the hair,⁸² or in elaborate ornaments for the ears (*karnāpūra* or *karnapatra*). Another item of a woman's toilet was the paint or the dots and patches on the forehead and cheeks, put on in various designs (*Viśeṣaka*). Sometimes leaves of such plants as *tamāla* were used with it, as we find in the *Saundarananda-Kāvya*.⁸³ Vātsyāyana advises a wife never to present herself before her husband—without some ornaments on her person even when alone with him.⁸⁴ This idea is found in Indian literature as early as the time of Yāska, who says, “to the man who understands her meaning, the Veda shows herself as a loving wife shows herself to her husband in all her rich apparel.” As Yāska here is quoting a verse of the *R̥gveda* where it occurs at least four times, the idea belongs to the very earliest period of Indian thought.⁸⁵ But when the husband is away from home the wife goes, as it were, into mourning; she puts away all her ornaments and finery with the exception of those that mark her married condition, such as the bangles of shells, only one on each wrist.⁸⁶ At that time she also practises fasts and austerities in honour of the gods and does not go to visit even the near relatives except in very urgent cases when they are in some danger, or when there are some festivities there, and even then, she

⁸² प्रकीर्त्यमानकेयकुसुमा—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 152 (*sūtra* 3); केयेषु कुसुमशशिः—*Bhāṣa*, *Īrūdatta*, Act I.

⁸³ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 124 (*sūtra* 19), p. 206 (*sūtra* 32), also *Saundarananda Kāvya*, chap. 17.

⁸⁴ गायकस्य च न विसृज्यमानं विज्ञाने संदर्शने तिष्ठेत् ।—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 226 (*sūtra* 13).

⁸⁵ Quoted by Prof. Peterson in *Journal of the Anth Soc of Bom.*, 1891, p. 463. The Vedic passage is जायेव पत्य उग्रतो सुवासाः, *Rv* i. 124. 7; see also *iv*. 3. 2; *x*. 71. 4 and *x*²91. 13. Cf. also जाया पतिमित्रं सुवसा *Av*. xviii. 2. 51.

⁸⁶ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 231 (*sūtra* 43), also एकं शङ्खवलयं वा धारयेत्, pp. 315-16 (*sūtra* 44).

must not change her quiet dress indicating the separation (*pravāsa-veṣa*); and she should never go there but in the company of her husband's people and must not stay there long. When the husband returns home she goes to meet him as she is, then she worships the gods, specially Kāmadeva, the god of love, and offers gifts of food to men and birds.

Ordinarily also it is the wife who looks after the performance of the daily worship of gods at the household temple and the due performance of rites and the offering of gifts at the three fixed periods in the day—morning, midday and evening. She takes upon herself the observance of the vows and fasts that fall to the share of her husband. Sometimes the lady vowed gifts and offerings to the gods, and when her lord acquired some wealth, or obtained success in any venture, or regained his health after some illness, she carried out her vow.⁹⁷ To institute the worship of some deity was one of the dear desires of the women.⁹⁸ The qualities enumerated by Śuddhodana as requisite for a bride for the young Siddhārtha⁹⁹ are very much the same as those in the picture given above by Vātsyāyana of a virtuous and devoted wife.

With the permission of her husband the wife takes upon herself the whole care and management of the family. She prepares a budget for the whole year and regulates the expenditure in proportion with the annual income. She must also know how to keep the daily accounts and total up the daily receipts and expenditure; Manu also lays down that the husband should appoint the wife to receive and spend the wealth, by keeping accounts, as Medhatithi explains.¹⁰⁰ When the husband is inclined to spend beyond his means,

⁹⁷ तस्यार्वाचिनोऽभिप्रेतसिद्धौ मरीरोपचये वा पूर्वसंभावित रज्ज्वितीयहारः ।—Ibid, p. 311 (*sūtra* 20).

⁹⁸ देवतायां पुत्रोपहारप्रवर्तनम् ।—Ibid, p. 340 (*sūtra* 25).

⁹⁹ *Lalitā-vistara*, chap. xii, 138 ff.

¹⁰⁰ सावत्सरिकं धनं संख्याय तदनुवर्पे धनं कुर्वीत । देवुषिवासव्यदिविष्णीवरवर्जिते च विद्यात्—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 229 (*sūtras* 32-33); चर्षत्स संवद्वि चेनां धनं चैव विधीयते ।—*Manu* x. 11 where Medhātithi explains संवद्वि, संख्यादिना परिच्छिद्य रवाचं देयानि विधानम्.

or to run into improper expenditure, she remonstrates with him in secret. She lays in a stock of all articles necessary for consumption and replenishes her stores at the proper season. She knows how to calculate and pay the wages and salaries of the servants, has to look after agriculture and cattle, and also to take care of the animals and birds kept for sport by the master of the house. We have seen that the garden also is a special charge of the lady of the house. When the husband is absent from home she also looks after his affairs and tries to administer them carefully so that they may not suffer by his absence; on such occasions she endeavours to minimise the expenditure to the best of her power and to increase the resources of the family by sales and purchases carried on through trusty servants. She has to attend to the kitchen, and besides, she employs her leisure in spinning cotton and also in doing some weaving.

Poor Women.—Many of the poorer women,—widows, helpless women, or those who had adopted the ascetic's vow (*pravrajitā*), earned a living by spinning and weaving as at the time of Kauṭilya, and got their wages from a government officer, the *Sūtrādhyakṣa*, "the Superintendent of Yarn," and the sales and purchases were made with the *Panyādhyakṣa*, "the Superintendent of Manufactures." In the villages, the peasant women did various kinds of work under the control of the government officer (*Āyuktaka*) in charge of the village or the headman who lived upon a share of the agricultural produce. Under his orders these women perform unpaid work (*viṣṭi*) for him, they fill up his granaries, take things in or out of his house, clean and decorate his residence, or work in his fields; they also take from him cotton, wool, flax or hemp for spinning yarn and the bark of trees, or thread, for preparing wearing apparel; moreover, they made with him transactions of sale, purchase or exchange of various articles. Similarly the women in dairy-settlements (*vrajas*)

transacted business with the *gavādhyakṣa*, "the Superintendent of Cattle."¹⁰¹

The Joint-Family.—The joint family system seems to have obtained in Vātsyāyana's age. The wife of the householder has to wait upon his parents and to obey them implicitly as we have already seen, and moreover, she has to show proper regard to all senior relations (*gurus*) and to his sisters as well as to their husbands. But nowhere are her duties to his brothers mentioned, though a woman with many younger brothers of her husband is referred to in one place¹⁰² showing probably that sometimes the brothers lived together but more often, they established separate households when they got married, as it was prescribed in some of the *Dharmasūtras*, in Manu for example, that after the death of the parents the brothers might live jointly or they might separate for the sake of increasing the *dharma*, for, if they lived separate, their spiritual merit would increase and hence separation was sanctioned by *dharma*: the meaning is that if they lived apart "each of them had to kindle the sacred fire, to offer separately the *agnihotra*, to perform the five great sacrifices and so forth, and hence each gains merit separately." This principle had been recognised from very early times as we have it clearly laid down by *Gautama*, the author of the earliest of the extant *Dharmasūtras*.¹⁰³

Polygamy.—Polygamy appears to have been prevalent in Vātsyāyana's days among the wealthy. Kings generally considered it a privilege to have a crowded harem, a harem "with a thousand spouses" is spoken of by Vātsyāyana.¹⁰⁴ This is in line with what the *Lalita-vistara* says about Mayādevī that she was the best and greatest of the thousands

¹⁰¹ *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 282-83 (*sūtras* 5-10)

¹⁰² जे ह्यभाष्ये बहुविराजिता—*Ibid*, p. 254 (*sūtra* 52).

¹⁰³ Note by Prof Bühler on *Manu* ix. 111 *S. B. E.* xxv, p. 347. *Of. also* चर्चो' वा पूर्वजकेतरान् विधवान् पित्रेण । विभानि तु चर्चो'हि—*Gautama*, xxviii. 5 and 4.

¹⁰⁴ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 41 (*sūtra* 22); also pp. 289-96.

of women of Śuddhodana. The *Buddhacarita* mentions the same fact though not in such extravagant terms.¹⁰⁶ Princes, high officials and the rich also married more than one wife. Vātsyāyana says that the wealthy people had generally a plurality of spouses who, outwardly no doubt, appeared to enjoy many objects of pleasure, but in reality, were very miserable indeed, as the husband was but one and the claimants to his affection were many; and he gives the sage advice that it is better to have a poor husband even though he may not have many qualities to recommend him than to have a clever man whose favours have to be shared with many.¹⁰⁶ A single wife for a wealthy man, however, was not unknown: we read in Vātsyāyana of a *nāgaraka* who may be devoted to one wife (*ekacārin*).¹⁰⁷ Prince Nanda of the *Saundarananda-Kāvya* was such a person. The majority of the people appeared to have had only one wife; but if she had no child, or if she bore only girls and the continuity of the family was in danger, then the husband might marry again. In case of barrenness, Vātsyāyana counsels the wife herself to induce the husband to marry again and look upon the newly married bride as a younger sister.¹⁰⁸ He advises a man with many wives not to be partial, neither to show any disregard towards any one in particular, nor to allow any offence on the part of any one of them to pass unnoticed.¹⁰⁹

Antahpura.—We have already seen that every house had an *antahpura* or inner suit of apartments where the ladies resided in seclusion, guarded against intrusion from any stranger; not even women except those of approved character, were admitted within.¹¹⁰ Bhāsa's *Vasantasenā* complains that she had the

¹⁰⁶ हृदीहृदया प्रसदा प्रवाणा गरीरवर्धे तु सावधाना—*Lalita-vistara* (ed. by Lefmann), 328. समवर्द्धनीनिबन्धावर्द्धनी बभूव नावापननेव नावा ।—*Buddhacarita*, i. 15

¹⁰⁶ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 217 (*sūtras* 55, 56).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 55 (*sūtra* 43).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 233-4 (*sūtras* 1-5).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 245 (*sūtras* 85-89).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 244 (*sūtra* 83).

misfortune of not being entitled to enter into the inner courtyard of Cārudatta's house.¹¹¹ It was not considered decent for the wife of a *nāgaraka* to stand at the door and look out, or to observe people in the street from her windows; even when she hastens to meet her husband coming home, she does not go out into the street or to the door but waits for him inside the house.¹¹² Nevertheless, on the occasion of religious festivities and processions, she could accompany the images of the gods with the permission of her husband. The inability of women to protect themselves against temptations as compared with men, is recognised by Vātsyāyana and he, like Manu, condemns the absence of a restraining guardian (*nirankuṣatva*) for a woman.¹¹³

The kings having a large number of wives took greater care than the ordinary *nāgaraka* in confining them in seraglios guarded by officers of proved honesty and purity. No man was allowed to enter into the royal harem except relatives and servants and in some provinces, artisans; Brāhmaṇas were allowed to get into the harem for supplying flowers to the ladies, with whom they conversed separated by a screen. There were in the harem female officers, the *kañcukiyā* and the *mahattarikā* who carried presents of garlands, perfumes and garments from the ladies to the king who also sent gifts in return. In the afternoon, the king paid a visit to the harem and met all the ladies assembled together and conversed with them in accordance with their rank and position.¹¹⁴

Education of Women.—The fact that the mistress of the house was expected to keep the daily accounts, to prepare the annual budget of receipts and expenditure, and supervise

¹¹¹ अमादत्तो नहं अद्मनारयवेदसः ।—Bhāsa, Cārudatta (Trivendram Sanskrit series), Act I, p. 26.

¹¹² Kāmasūtra, p. 227 (sūtra 22), and p. 226 (sūtra 12), also दारद्वेषादयविनी शालाद्वेषादयविनी ।—p. 254 (sūtra 52)

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 249 (sūtras 10 and 13); also pp. 296-97 (sūtras 43-52); cf. Manu, v. 147-149 and ix. 2 and 3.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 289-298 and pp. 242-44.

in general over the purse, proves, beyond a doubt, that women ordinarily were literate. Besides, from what Vātsyāyana says, it is apparent that an ordinary woman could receive and reply to love letters smuggled into ear ornaments, chaplets or garlands made of flowers carried by female messengers (*patrahāri-dūti*). Such love letters not infrequently contained verses and songs having special reference to the beloved and replies were obtained from her.¹¹⁵ Unless woman had some education, this would be without meaning.

Higher education (*śāstragrahaṇa*), however, was not so common among them, as Vātsyāyana himself says that women did not ordinarily get any education in the *śāstras*, but our author avers that the daughters of kings and nobles, as also the *ganikās*, were highly educated and "had their intelligence trained and sharpened by the *śāstras*"; and he advises that a woman might learn either the whole or a part of the work (*śāstra*) composed by himself from a person who by character and attainments could be trusted.¹¹⁶ The sixty-four subsidiary sciences that had to be studied along with the *Kāmasūtra*, included many that required, as we have seen, no inconsiderable proficiency in *belles lettres*, in the humanities in general. Such accomplishments as extempore composition of verses (*mānasi-kāvya-kriyā*) and the completion of fragmentary verses (*kāvya-samasyāpūraṇam*) required a ready facility in versification that could be acquired only by a highly educated girl; and such sports as *pratimālā* required the memorising of a large mass of verses and good literature. In Vātsyāyana's opinion a knowledge of the *Kāmasūtra* with its subsidiary sciences would be useful to all women, both high and low, rich and poor. A poor woman who on account of the absence of her husband, finds herself in great distress and

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 274 (*sūtras* 38-40); p. 276 (*sūtra* 51); p. 279 (*sūtra* 60); also वन उपायोऽद्यावत्...धर्मानां नीतयुक्तानां...च निधानम्। प्रयुक्तं तदा इत्थं प्रयोज्यम्।—p. 292, (*sūtras* 20, 21).

¹¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 28-30.

difficulty, might earn a decent living even in a foreign country by means of her knowledge of these sciences. A woman whose husband has been away from home without making provision for her, is advised by Manu also to live by the arts, by such *śilpas* as have nothing reprehensible in them. On the other hand, Vātsyāyana affirms that, a daughter of wealthy parents, if accomplished in the arts, might win the affection of her husband even if he happens to have a large number of wives. We see, moreover, from Vātsyāyana's work, as well as from contemporary literature, that a knowledge of the arts was considered necessary for all women.¹¹⁷ The bride for Prince Siddhartha was required, according to his father, to be "versed in the sacred literature (*śāstra*) and skilled in the arts, even like a *Gaṇikā*."¹¹⁸ The *carama-Buddha* could be born only of a mother "versed in many sciences," and Mayādevī satisfied this requirement; besides, she was well skilled in the arts.¹¹⁹

Widow re-marriage.—The position of a widow who wished for a second husband, has been clearly defined by Vātsyāyana. There was no regular marriage for a widow; but if a woman who had lost her husband, was of weak character and was unable to restrain her desires, she might ally herself for a second time to a man who was a seeker of pleasures (*bhogin*) and was desirable on account of his excellent qualities as a lover, and such a woman was called a *punarbhū*. Vātsyāyana quotes the opinions of several teachers as to how far, in the selection of her second master, the *punarbhū* should be swayed by the excellence of the qualities of the man of her choice or by the chances of participating in the joys of life, and he concludes that in his opinion it was best for her to follow the natural inclinations of her own heart. The connection

¹¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 32-41, cf. *प्रविशति विवाहेन औपेक्षितैरनर्हिने*; i.—*Manu*, ix. 75.

¹¹⁸ *माते विविधं कुलं वा न विना वदेव* i.—*Lalitavistara* (ed. by Lefmann), xii. 139

¹¹⁹ *बहुभुक्ताः पण्डिताः*; i.—Ibid, iii. 35, *समाविद्यया* i.—ii. 27.

with her was of a loose character and she enjoyed a degree of independence unknown to the wife wedded according to sacramental rites. When the *punarbhū* seeks her lover's house, she assumes the role of a mistress, patronises his wives, is generous to his servants and treats his friends with familiarity; she chides the lover herself if he gives any cause for quarrel. She shows greater knowledge of the arts than his wedded wives and seeks to please the lover with the sixty-four *Kāmakalās*. She takes part in sports and festivities, drinking parties, garden picnics, and other games and amusements. She might leave her lover (*nāyaka*), but if she did so of her own accord, she had to restore to him all presents given by him, except the tokens of love, mutually exchanged between them; if she is driven out, she does not give back any thing.¹²⁰

The position of the *punarbhū* is therefore quite distinct from that of the wedded wife who participated with her husband in all religious observances and had to live with decency in the *antahpura*; the position of the *punarbhū* approaches nearer to that of a mistress than that of a wedded wife. In the king's harem where there were separate quarters and suites of chambers for the various types of women, the *punarbhūs* occupied a position midway between the *devīs* or queens who occupied the innermost apartments, and the *ganikās* and actresses in the outermost, and this exactly indicates also the position occupied by them in society. Vātsyāyana indicates this in another place where he places the *punarbhū* between the virgin (*kanyā*) and the courtesan (*veśyā*)¹²¹ and says that the establishment of sexual relations with either the courtesans or the *punarbhūs* was not considered as right, neither was it absolutely condemned, because pleasure

¹²⁰ *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 238-40 (sūtras 39-59). विषया निद्रियदीर्घकादाहुरा जीविनं पुनरुपपन्नं च वा पुनर्विन्देत् वा पुनर्नृः (sūtra 39); स्त्रीस्वार्थिनी वा स्त्रियात्मनं पुनर्विन्देत् (sūtra 41); वा प्रसविष्यत् रजस्य अथवापुत्राय (sūtra 45); सनाजायादकीदादवापिद्वारकीयता चेति पुनर्नृपत् (sūtra 59), etc.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 243, (sūtra 78); and तत्र नाधिकारिकः, सना पुनर्विन्देत् वा च—p. 60 (sūtra 4).

was the guiding motive in all such connections.¹²² It is clear that in Vātsyāyana's opinion there could not be any second marriage of the widow. Manu, whose code must have received its present form about that time, declares in unmistakable terms that in the sacred texts concerning marriage, the re-marriage of widows was nowhere prescribed.¹²³ Vātsyāyana's attitude towards the question of widow-re-marriage shows that in his days, public opinion allowed the widow to live with the man of her choice as his mistress, just as public opinion was not particularly nice or fastidious about making love to courtesans, but she could never receive the same regard, nor acquire the same position-as the married wife.

About the question of marriage in general, Vātsyāyana gives it as his considered opinion that for a man of any of the four *varṇas* or castes, *kāma* or desire should be provided its scope in the acceptance, according to the prescriptions of the holy writ, of a maiden who belongs to the same caste as himself and who had no contact with any one before, and this, he says, leads to progeny and to fame and is also sanctioned by popular usage; and again, he affirms, in another connection, that when a maiden of the same caste, not given to any one before, is married in accordance with the prescriptions of holy writ, then one secures *dharma* and *artha*, offspring, high connection, an increase of friends and partisans, and also genuine, untarnished love. He further adds definitely that the contrary procedure of marrying girls of higher castes, or of those who had previously been accepted by others, was absolutely prohibited, but that public opinion was indifferent with regard to connection with women of the lower castes (if not actually outside the pale of Aryan society), as also with widows and courtesans, for such relations were not

¹²² वेकाह पुनर्लुप न विदो न प्रतिषिद्धः सुखादेवतात् ।—*Ibid.* p. 59 (śūtra 3)

¹²³ न विवाहविवाहानं विवाहविदं पुनः ।—*Manu*, ix. 65. c

considered as amounting to marriage at all, but entered into merely for pleasure for its own sake.¹²⁴

Anumaraṇa.—Vātsyāyana once refers to the *anumaraṇa*¹²⁵ of a woman upon the death of her lover; perhaps it has a reference to the practice of *sahamarāṇa* or dying with the husband, that is, burning herself on the same funeral pyre, but we cannot be sure about it upon such meagre evidence.

Female ascetics.—Some women also took the monastic vow like men and lived upon the charity of the people. Nuns of the three main religions of India at the time are referred to in the *Kāmasūtra*. We have the Buddhist nun *śramaṇā*, and her Jaina sister, *kṣapaṇā* or *kṣapaṇikā*; and associated with them we find the *tāpasī* whom I take to be the woman who belonging to the Brahmanic faith, has renounced the world. Besides, we read of women who had their heads shaven (*muṇḍāḥ*). All of them are generally spoken of as *pravrajitās* or *bhikṣukīs*, i.e., female ascetics or mendicants. It appears, from what Vātsyāyana says, that these female mendicant orders did not enjoy a high reputation for morality: they are included among those who are declared to be company unfit for decent married ladies.¹²⁶ Some of the mendicant women were proficient in the arts and their help was often sought by the *nāgaraka* in affairs of love; the house of the *bhikṣukī* often formed the rendezvous for lovers; she was often employed to carry messages of love and was regarded as a go-between who could easily create confidence and succeed in her mission.¹²⁷ Vātsyāyana, however, positively asserts that the love of the female ascetic was never to be sought for by a *nāgaraka*, though a former teacher had

¹²⁴ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 59 (sūtras 1-3); and p. 184 (sūtra 1)

¹²⁵ अन्मरणं चातुमरणं इत्यादि ।—Ibid, p. 316 (sūtra 53).

¹²⁶ निवृत्तजनन्यायपञ्चाङ्गबटाङ्गद्वयविहीनकृत्स्नवारिवालिर्न संकुलेत ।—Ibid, p. 225 (sūtra 9); सुवीनिवृत्तकृत्स्नविवालापवीनवैषु सुवीपायः (सनायनः).—p. 274 (sūtra 42), etc.

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 57 (sūtra 48); p. 274 (sūtra 42); p. 364 (sūtra 15); p. 285 (sūtra 25); and p. 280 (sūtra 62).

expressed a contrary view.¹²⁸ All this does not imply that female ascetics were in general considered as depraved but that some of them abused the confidence of the public and thus forfeited the respect with which they had previously been regarded, just like some of the male ascetics and mendicants who erred from the right path,¹²⁹ and we learn from Kautilya that the respect which the *parivrājikā* or *bhikṣukī* commanded in society was made use of in order to fish out political secrets.¹³⁰ In Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* we find the *parivrājikā*, Kāmandakī, represented as a highly respectable lady who took great interest in the love affair between the hero and the heroine and worked hard for its fruition. This drama is an illustration, as it were, of the *Kāmasūtra*, and Bhavabhūti in this drama shows himself very well-versed in Vātsyāyana's writings.¹³¹

Arts and Crafts.—The age of Vātsyāyana being characterised by very refined tastes and æsthetic perceptions, as we have seen above, there was joy and consequently beauty in life, and it was necessarily an age when the arts flourished and the crafts prospered. Vātsyāyana's *nāgaraka* is a man of varied culture and from the picture that we have obtained of his life and surroundings, of his home and friends, and of his sports and amusements, there can be no doubt that he was a great patron of the arts; in fact, it is evident that every one who aspired to be a member of cultured society, had to acquire some proficiency in poetry and music, painting and sculpture and to possess some knowledge of a host of minor arts, the twice sixty-four *kalās*¹³² enumerated by our author. This knowledge of the arts was evidently an essential part of his

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 65 (sūtra 23); p. 67 (sūtra 32).

¹²⁹ *Bhikṣukāḥ*, ibid, p. 300 (sūtra 9); *liṅgin*, p. 301 (sūtra 10), p. 351 (sūtra 28).

¹³⁰ Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, i, chapters 11 and 12.

¹³¹ Cf. श्रीहर्षनाट्योपनिषत्सम्बन्धम्—*Mālatīmādhava*, Prologue, Act 1.

¹³² The sixty-four *śilpa-kalās* and the sixty-four *pāñcālīkā* or *sāmpṛayogika-kalās* enumerated in the *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 92-153. The former are called *karma-kalās* and the latter *kāma-kalās* in the *Lalitavistara* (Chaps. xii and xxi).

education and without this modicum of practical acquaintance with them he would not be respected, as Vātsyāyana says, in the assemblies of the cultured and educated people.¹³³ The ideal *māgaraka*, according to Vātsyāyana, was he who possessed, in addition to a healthy physique, good birth and independent means of livelihood, a knowledge of the various arts, who was learned and eloquent and was moreover, a poet, well skilled in telling stories, who was fond of all the literary and artistic competitions and festivities including *goṭhis* and dramatic performances and above all, a person whose character was marked by largeness of heart and liberality, by affection and love. Skill in the sixty-four arts subsidiary to the *Kāmasūtra* as well as a knowledge of the *Sūtras* themselves was an essential part of the qualification of every cultured man and woman.¹³⁴ To win a girl in marriage called for an exercise of many of the arts. A maiden had to be propitiated by rare and curious objects of art, by nicely recited romances and by sweet songs; if she showed a partiality for feats of "magic," her favour was to be won by performing various tricks of legerdemain; if she manifested a curiosity for the arts (*kalās*), her lover must demonstrate before her his skill in them; the art of gathering flowers in bouquets, or weaving them into chaplets and garlands was specially to be cultivated.¹³⁵ Tournaments in which a charming and rarely accomplished girl like Gopā was the prize of the victor (*jaya-patākā*),¹³⁶ appear to have been held in cities ruled by a semi-republican government like that of the Śākya-kula. If a man were uncultured and ignorant of the arts it would be a source of great sorrow to his wife who, Vātsyāyana

¹³³ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 182 (*sūtras* 50-51), also p. 41 (*sūtras* 24-25)

¹³⁴ विद्यां कवितास्त्राण्युच्चैर्वाणी विविधशिल्पकी महीसाहस्यानी निचयसुखी चटानीहीनिचयसुखी-
खनाजसमसः क्रीडनशीली गीतजीऽन्वहजरीरः प्राचवानमयपः etc इति नायकगुणाः—p. 302 (*sūtra* 12);
also ब्राम्हणे जीवसं महद्भविद्यासु विनि साधारणगुणाः 1—p. 303 (*sūtra* 14).

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 202-203 (*sūtras* 11-18).

¹³⁶ दक्षपादेन वाक्येन दुहितुः शोभां प्राप्तुं शक्यते इत्येवमत्रा ज्ञानियमिदम्—*Lalaviṣṭa a*,
xii, 144.

suggests, might herself be more proficient in them than he.¹²⁷ In the *Lalitavistara* we find that unless Siddhārtha showed his skill in some of the arts (*śilpas*), Dandapāni Śākya refused to give his girl in marriage to him, prince though he was.¹²⁸ It may easily be imagined that art in all its forms was likely to develop and prosper in a society where men and women were inspired by such ideals, and that at the same time the sciences that analysed and ministered to the manifold forms of artistic expression of this highly intellectual and cultured community also grew and were assiduously pursued. Not only erotics to which Vātsyāyana devoted himself, but also the sciences of æsthetics and poetics received a great impetus during this period. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* appears to be a product of this age of æsthetic culture which reached its culmination in the great Kālidāsa, the most careful student of Bharata and Vātsyāyana.

Literary Art.—We have already had evidence of the *nāgaraka's* good taste in house-building and architecture and also of his fondness for poetry and romance. He always had a poetical work on a table in his room, and we have seen from his skill at the *goṣṭhis* where *kāvya-samasyās* or competitions in poetic skill were held every evening, that readiness in versification and a wide reading of poetical literature in general, formed the essential accomplishment of every one of the class to which he belonged. While wooing the maiden of his choice, he was expected to recite sweetly agreeable stories that would just apply to his case, or the romances of *Sakuntalā* and *Avimāraka* and of the heroes and heroines of literature who had prospered in their loves. One skilled in reciting these stories and romances had, according to Vātsyāyana, the best chance of success in love-making.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 254 (sūtra 52).

¹²⁸ चक्राकम्पादं कुचपर्वः श्लिष्यस्य कथा दातव्या नाश्लिष्यसेति । कुमारव न श्लिष्य...तत् कथमश्लिष्यज्ञावाहं दुहितरं दास्यामि ।—*Lalitavistara*, xii. 142.

¹²⁹ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 208 (sūtra 17); p. 218 (sūtra 5); p. 252 (sūtra 50); p. 299 (sūtra 2); p. 271 (sūtra 14); p. 302 (sūtra 12).

Painting.—The Pictorial art, *ālekhyam*, was one of the foremost of the sixty-four *kalās* cultivated during this period. Every cultured man had in his house a drawing board, *citrāphalaka* and a vessel (*samudgaka*) for holding brushes and other requisites of painting.¹⁴⁰ Pictures, *citrakarma*, appear to have been drawn, as the commentator of Vātsyāyana explains, both on the walls (*bhitti*) as well as on panels or boards (*phalaka*); Vātsyāyana advises a lover who wants to attract the attention of the lady whose charms have captivated him, to put in places frequented by her, paintings (probably representing himself) done on panels;¹⁴¹ in another place we read of a kiss imprinted on a picture (*citrakarma*),¹⁴² most probably on a wall. For *citrakarma* or painting, the surface of the wall appears to have been most ordinarily used in ancient India, as appears from a passage in the *Mudrārākṣasa* where the futility of the earnest efforts of a statesman is compared to “the composition of a picture (*citrakarma*) without the wall.”¹⁴³ The same idea is found in the *Lalitavistara*, where the daughters of Māra declare that it was easier to paint pictures on the sky than to tempt Bodhisattva.¹⁴⁴ Bharata clearly refers to fresco-painting by the phrase *citrakarma*; he says that the walls of the theatre-hall were to be decorated with *citrakarma* after they had been carefully plastered, coated with lime and nicely polished, the paintings consisting of the representation of male and female figures, of creeper-patterns and a record of great deeds.¹⁴⁵ It is fortunate

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 32 and p. 44 (sūtra 10).

¹⁴¹ वन संपादोऽस्माकं चित्रकर्मणः... निधानम् ।—Ibid, p. 292 (sūtra 20).

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 111 (sūtra 81).

¹⁴³ हेतुं न चित्रकर्मणा मिति विना वर्तते ।—*Mudrārākṣasa*, Act ii.

¹⁴⁴ अथ ताव अमरीचं वीजविषं विनिर्मु, न बोधिसत्त्वं मये ताव बोधिसत्त्वं वासितुम् ।—

Lalitavistara, xxi. 312.

¹⁴⁵

निनिर्मुचं विनिर्मुचं परिहृत्वा चर्तवः ।
 सनात् जलमोल्लसु चित्रकर्मं मनीषिणम् ।
 चित्रकर्मणि वासिष्ठाः पुत्राः जीमनसदा ।
 अनामनाय चर्तव्यवर्तिनं वासुकीनमः ।

Bhāratya Nāṭyaśāstram (Nirṇaya-sāgara Press), Chap. ii, verses 72-74.

that in our country where we have so few pictorial records of the past, the caves at Ajanta have preserved a few frescoes, the solitary survivals of this age of prolific artistic production.

Vātsyāyana speaks also of the *ākhyūnaka-paṭa*¹⁴⁶ which is evidently a roll of canvas containing the representation of a short story in several scenes like the *yamapaṭa* which was spread by a spy of Cāṇakya before the people in Candanadāsa's house and was exhibited by him with songs;¹⁴⁷ we may add that the direct descendant of this *yamapaṭa* may still be seen in the villages of Bengal. Balls with various designs painted on them in a variety of colours as also water jugs of various elegant shapes with many paintings, are mentioned by Vātsyāyana as welcome presents to a maiden whose favours one is courting.¹⁴⁸ The *Lalitavistara* mentions a similar plaything for children, viz., jugs beautifully painted on the outside but containing valueless things within.¹⁴⁹

According to Vātsyāyana a welcome object of presentation to maidens was a colour-box (*paṭolikā*) containing the following colours:—*alaktaka* (the red dye obtained from lac), *manahṣilā* (red arsenic), *haritāla* (yellow orpiment), *hingula* (vermillion) and *śyāmavarṇaka*; the last named appears to be a vegetable dye, black, blue or green because the word *śyāma* is used to signify all these colours. The commentator says that it means a powder used in painting, of *rājāvarta*, a mineral substance.¹⁵⁰ A painter surrounded by many cups (*mallakas*) of wet colours is referred to in Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*.¹⁵¹ Jayamaṅgala quotes a beautiful verse apparently from a *śilpaśāstra* about the six

¹⁴⁶ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 269 (*sūtra* 2).

¹⁴⁷ तद्विं जनपदं पञ्चारिष पञ्चसिद्धि जीदार्थं गात्रदम् ।—*Mudrārāṅgasa*, Act i.

¹⁴⁸ कन्दुकमनेकमक्षिपितं चंदनैरीत् ।—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 202 (*sūtra* 13). विविचक्षणतिसंयुक्तानां जलमाजानाञ्च दानं ।—*Ibid*, p. 203 (*sūtra* 14).

¹⁴⁹ इह ते बाला रज्यन्ते विमचटेविमानिअपरिपूर्णेअविदांसः ।—*Lalitavistara*, xv. 207.

¹⁵⁰ यदीक्षिकानामसकलकलाविषाहरिताहङ्गिहृत्कथमासवर्षादीनां दानं ।—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 203 (*sūtra* 14).

¹⁵¹ चित्तचरो विष बहुमल्लपरि परिपुष्टो ।—*Bhāsa, Cārudatta* (Trivendrum Sanskrit Series), Act ix, p. 7.

great requisites of painting, viz., "knowledge of appearances, correct perception, measure and structure of forms, action of feelings on forms, infusion of grace or artistic representation, similitude and artistic manner of using the brush and colours."¹⁵³ Bharata speaks of the pictorial representation of the feelings or rather sentiments, the *rasas*, by different colours, the erotic or amatory sentiment is represented by the *śyāma* or dark colour spoken of above, the sentiment of mirth by white; the piteous sentiment is grey (*kapota*) and the choleric is red, the heroic is yellowish white (*gaura*) and the terrible, black; the repulsive is blue and the amazing, yellow.¹⁵³

Sculpture.—Sculpture flourished as much as painting in the age of Vātsyāyana as is fully borne out by the numerous sculptural records that have come down to our time from that period. Vātsyāyana himself bears ample testimony to it: *takshana*, carving on wood or stone was one of the sixty-four arts and every *nāgaraka* had in his house implements for working at it; similarly in every house there was a lathe and other arrangements for turning which, likewise, had its place among the sixty-four *kalās*. Vātsyāyana does not expressly mention an image of a god, but from what he says of the household temple where the gods were worshipped, of the worship offered and the gifts made to the deity to whom one was particularly devoted,¹⁵⁴ it is apparent that such images

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रूपमेधाः प्रसाधानि भावलावण्यवीजनम् ।

सादृश्यं वर्चिकानङ्ग इति चिदं बहुलकमिति ॥

Kāmasūtra p. 33. The translation is by Mr Abanindranath Tagore, the founder of the modern Bengal school of painting, who has discussed this verse in the *Modern Review*, xv. (1914), pp. 581-2.

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शाली भवति ग्रहाणः मितो ह्यस्यः प्रकीर्तितः ।

कपोतः कक्षस्थं रत्नो रीद्रः प्रकीर्तितः ।

गीरो वीरस्य विज्ञेयः ऊर्ध्वस्थं भयानकः ।

नीलवर्धस्य वीरत्वः पीतवर्धस्य वाह्यतः स्मृतः ॥

Nātyasūtra, ch. vi, 42-43 (p. 63).

¹⁵⁴ See *Kāmasūtra*, p. 224 (*sūtra* 3); उद्धृष्टोपहारः—p. 311 (*sūtra* 20); दीवसानां पूजोपहारप्रवर्तनम् etc.—p. 340 (*sūtra* 25).

were familiar objects in his days. The *Lalitavistara* speaks of the numerous images of the gods that came down from their pedestals to do obeisance to the child Buddha when he made his appearance in the *Devakula*, the quarter of the palace occupied by the gods.¹⁵⁵ Besides these images for worship, representations in wood and stone of human beings, both male and female, *puruṣapratimā* and *stripratimā*—were used by the class for whom Vātsyāyana wrote, for decoration and as appurtenances of love. Stands for placing images, or *piṇḍolikās*, are mentioned by Vātsyāyana, and life-size statues in wood or stone evidently stood on them in every *nāgaraka*'s house, as Vātsyāyana speaks of very familiar uses made of them by lovers who often gave an indication of their passion for a lady by slyly kissing or embracing a statue in her sight. Similar other uses of portrait-statues in the harems of kings have been indicated by Vātsyāyana.¹⁵⁶ In Bhāsa's *Pratimā-nāṭaka* (Act III) we read of the life-like representations of past kings ranged round a room as in a museum.

The demand for beautiful dolls and play-things of which the girls in Vātsyāyana's age appear to have been very fond, offered a vast field for the exercise of the plastic art. Vātsyāyana advises a young man trying to win the affection of a maiden to present her with dolls (*duhitṛkā*) made of wood, horn, ivory, cloth, wax, plaster or earth. Erotic pairs of human figures made of wood might also be presented; such erotic pairs (*mithunam*) cut out of the leaves of trees were also sent by sweethearts to each other. Playthings liked by girls are miniature cooking utensils, small temples of the gods (*devakula-grhaka*), toy animals like goats or rams and playthings made of earth, split bamboo or wood, such as cages of birds. Small *vīṇās*, stands for images, ear ornaments made

¹⁵⁵ अश्वत्थो देवप्रतिमा इति.—*Lalitavistara*, viii. 119.

¹⁵⁶ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 289 (sūtra 3); p. 290 (sūtra 5); p. 207 (sūtra 14); also विश्वकर्मायः प्रतिमायाश्च पुष्पार्ण संज्ञाः। नवकलाचिह्नं च ।—p. 111 (sūtra 31).

of wax or whatever other objects of art might be demanded by the girl of his choice, must be presented by the man courting her either openly or in secret.¹⁵⁷

Music.—Three *kalās* appertaining to music, singing (*gīta*), playing on instruments (*vādyā*) and dancing (*nṛtya*) have been given by our author the first place in the list of arts; besides, there are two more—*udakavādyā* or playing on cups filled with water in varying proportions and *vināḍamarukavādyāni* that is, playing on string instruments of which the chief was the *vinā* and also on percussion instruments represented by the *ḍamaru*.¹⁵⁸ This last most probably represents the earliest form which in course of time had evolved the *mṛdaṅga*, which has lately been proved by one of our eminent scientists to be the most scientifically constructed percussion instrument ever used.¹⁵⁹ The *mṛdaṅga* was already known to the *Mahāvagga* and Aśvaghoṣa speaks of songs sung to the accompaniment of the *mṛdaṅga* and of music produced on *mṛdaṅgas* struck by the fingers of women, and the *Lalitavistara* mentions it again and again with other varieties of drums.¹⁶⁰ I am inclined to think that Vātsyāyana's *ḍamaruka* stands here for percussion instruments in general. The *vinā* even then formed the most popular of the musical instruments in India, as is apparent from the fact that it formed a necessary piece of furniture in the rooms of every *nāgāraka* on which as we have seen, he played almost every evening. Such a *vinā* in the room of Nanda reminds the bereaved Sundarī of her dear absent husband,¹⁶¹ and Bhāsa's Cārudatta is overwhelmed by its merits and is enthusiastic

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, pp. 202-3 (sūtras 12-14); p. 206 (sūtra 4).

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 32 (sūtra 16).

¹⁵⁹ Prof. C. V. Raman "The Acoustic Knowledge of Ancient Hindus," *Central Hindu College Magazine* (Benares), January 1920, pp. 9-12.

¹⁶⁰ बज्जिह्वा कच्छे दीपं बज्जिह्वा कच्छे सुविह्वम्—*Mahāvagga*, i. 7. 1-2; बद्धजीवे:—*Buddhacarita*, i. 45; गारीकरावाणिहते-हं दंते:—Ibid, ii. 30; नेरीबद्धपञ्चवत्पञ्चनीवादिपञ्चकी-चञ्चवाहमञ्चलसर्वजावा:—*Lalitavistara*, v. 40.

¹⁶¹ दीपमञ्चलविधौ श्रीका:—*Saundarananda Kāvya*, vi. 32.

in its praises.¹⁵³ Of wind instruments, the flute made of a bamboo reed (*vamśa*) is mentioned by Vātsyāyana who praises it as capable of winning the heart of any girl when used in the way he prescribes.¹⁵⁴ In the *Buddhacarita* and *Lalitavistara* it is called *venu* and is generally associated with the *viṇā*; and women play upon it.¹⁵⁵ We have seen that music with or without dances was enjoyed by our *nāgaraka* every evening. The *nāgaraka*'s sons received lessons in music at the *gāndharvaśālā* or college of music belonging perhaps to the city or to the *gaṇa* or corporation to which he belonged. Sweet and ravishing songs delighting the ear, form, according to Vātsyāyana, the readiest means of gaining the love of a man or a woman, and sometimes songs were specially composed containing a mention of the name and the family of the lover.¹⁵⁶ Concerts (*tūryya*) are mentioned by Vātsyāyana, in which a party of musicians of both sexes sang and played together on various instruments. A party of such players was sometimes strengthened by its head (*rangopajivin*) giving his daughter in marriage to a clever artist who could help in the concert. An actress (*ikṣanikā*) is mentioned by Vātsyāyana as a very good carrier of love messages,¹⁵⁷ because, as Cārudatta says, a person making a living by the *kalās*, like her, must be very clever at all sorts of tricks.¹⁵⁸ Bharata says that sometimes on the stage the female parts were acted by men and an actress sometimes acted that of a man.¹⁵⁹ Some actresses were maintained by the king

¹⁵³ वीणा नामासमुद्रोत्थितं रजसम् ।—Cārudatta (Trivendrum Sanskrit Series), Act iii, p. 49.

¹⁵⁴ वंशं वादयती वा शब्दं श्रुत्वाति सा वयसा भवति ।—Kāmasūtra, p. 379 (sūtra 43).

¹⁵⁵ करलपवेष्ट—Buddhacarita, v. 49; वीणावेष्ट वल्लभी, etc.—Lalitavistara, v. 40, xxi. 301, etc.; also गार्थी सुदितमनाः प्रसन्नचित्ता वेष्टव्यो मयुरमनोरमं रजसे ।—Ibid, xiii 163.

¹⁵⁶ Kāmasūtra, p. 364 (sūtra 15); p. 203 (sūtra 18); p. 312 (sūtra 22); p. 314 (sūtra 23).

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 280 (sūtra 62); p. 366 (sūtras 23-24).

¹⁵⁸ Cārudatta, Act iii, p. 65.

¹⁵⁹ स्त्री पुरुषः प्रकृतिं कुर्वती स्त्रीमात्रं पुरुषोऽपि वा etc.—Bharata, Nāṭyaśāstra, Chap. xii, 166 ff.

and suitable quarters in the palace were set apart for them.¹⁶⁹

Crafts.—In a society where both men and women wore ornaments, it was quite natural that the crafts of the jeweller (*maṇikāra*) and the goldsmith (*sauvarṇika* or *suvarṇakāra*) should prosper. The *nāgaraka*, when going to his club or to his garden picnic, wore ornaments and the king did so on his formal visit to the queens every afternoon.¹⁷⁰ The statues that have come down from this age bear this out. It was, however, the demands of the ladies, who could not appear before their husbands without having ornaments on, that furnished the amplest occupation to the goldsmith and the jeweller. Some of the ladies decorated their whole person with ornaments. Those who could not afford to have pure gold ornaments had to be satisfied with those made of an inferior kind of gold alloyed with an inferior metal. Beyond a general mention of the *alamkāras* Vātsyāyana does not name other ornaments than rings which are very frequently referred to as tokens of love presented by lovers to each other.¹⁷¹ The *Lalitavistara* mentions a ring worth several lacs and a pearl necklace that was worth many times that sum. Cārudatta's wife also had a pearl necklace given to her by her parents worth a lac.¹⁷² The testing of jewels and coins (*rupya-ratna-parikṣā*) was a useful art in this community and Vātsyāyana knows a *Vaikaṭika*, a diamond-cutter, whose craft was to purify or refine precious stones.¹⁷³ Plates and other vessels made of the precious metals, gold and silver, are mentioned by Vātsyāyana and were evidently often

¹⁶⁹ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 243 (sūtras 78-79).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 53 (sūtra 40); p. 243 (sūtra 75).

¹⁷¹ *सर्वाङ्गिकोच्चहारयोगी*, p. 341 (sūtra 28); *सङ्क्षिप्तमालसङ्करचम्पू* !—*Ibid*, p. 341 (sūtra 27). About rings see *ibid*, p. 244 (sūtra 80); p. 261 (sūtra 21); p. 274 (sūtra 85); p. 292 (sūtra 20), etc.

¹⁷² *अनेकवतसवत्सुखमनुवीर्यवत्* !—*Lalitavistara*, xii. 142; *वीरिमलसङ्करचम्पू* *सुहासिनि* !—*Ibid*, vii. 53 ff. *Cārudatta*, p. 32.

¹⁷³ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 83 (sūtra 16); p. 269 (sūtra 12).

used in the houses of the rich while those made of the baser metals, copper, bell-metal or iron were used by ordinary people; moreover, vessels made of earth, split-bamboo, wood and skins were in very general use.¹⁷⁴

Besides the jeweller, the goldsmith and the diamond-cutter, the dyer of clothes (*rañjaka*) also was an artisan who appears to have access to the inner apartments of the *nāgaraka's* house and to take orders from the ladies direct. Blue and orange (colour of the *kusumbha* flower) seem to be the dyes most fashionable; the dyer is by preference called the *nilikusumbharañjaka*. The yellow dye was also perhaps generally used, though the dye obtained from turmeric (*haridrā*) provides a proverbial expression for denoting fickle, impermanent affection.¹⁷⁵ Sundarī, Nanda's beloved wife, is described as weaving a garment of the colour of the ruby (*padmarāga*) which is no doubt the same as the *kusumbha* colour of Vātsyāyana, and in the *Buddhacarita* a lady is represented as wearing a blue dress.¹⁷⁶ Earlier still, these very same dyes appear to have been in favour. The noble Licchavi youths who went out of Vesālī to pay their respects to the great Buddha are described in the *Mahāvagga* as wearing blue, red and yellow robes besides white ones; the same work enumerates a number of other colours as being used by people living in the enjoyments of the world, though even there the blue, yellow and red are given the first place.¹⁷⁷ The economic housewife is described by Vātsyāyana as getting the rejected clothes of her husband cleaned and redyed and then presenting them to the servants.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 337 (sūtra 7); p. 228 (sūtra 27).

¹⁷⁵ नीलकुसुम्भरञ्जकश्च, etc.—Ibid, p. 259 (sūtra 12). हरिद्रापीता ।—Ibid, p. 330 (sūtra 17.)

¹⁷⁶ पद्मरागे वस्त्रं वस्त्रात् ।—*Saundarananda Kāvya*, vi. 26; नीलरञ्जका—*Buddhacarita*, iv. 33; नीलरञ्जकवस्त्रिणी—Ibid, xii. 107.

¹⁷⁷ *Mahāvagga*, vi. 30. 3 and viii. 29.

¹⁷⁸ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 230 (sūtra 34).

A number of artisans are mentioned by Vātsyāyana as helping the *nāgaraka* in the decoration of his person and thus in his quest of love, and are spoken of by Vātsyāyana as his friends: among them we find in the first place, the florist who looks after his flower-beds, who makes garlands for his neck and chaplets for his head, and who helps him in preparing floral decorations for presentation to his beloved.¹⁷⁹ Next comes the perfumer (*saugandhika*) whom, as we have seen, he patronised very liberally. Then we have the goldsmith, the betel-leaf-seller, as also the washerman, the barber and the wine-seller. The women-folk of these artisans were also regarded by him as his friends (*mitrāṇi*).¹⁸⁰ This establishment of friendly relations between the wealthy *nāgaraka* and the craftsman appears to indicate a great respect for the crafts which are nowhere in Vātsyāyana spoken of as implying any inferior rank or position.

The Position of the Gaṇikās.—In the age of Vātsyāyana, the *Gaṇikā*, or the educated and accomplished woman about the town, occupied a peculiar position. Though belonging to the class of “public women”, still she appears to have been treated with special consideration. But it was not every courtesan that received this appellation: it was only when a woman of this class was marked out by high intellectual attainments, and striking pre-eminence in the arts that she won the coveted title of *gaṇikā*. She must have her mind cultivated and trained by a thorough education (*śāstraprahatabuddhiḥ*) and Vātsyāyana lays down that it is only when a courtesan is versed in both the series of sixty-four arts or *kalās* enumerated by him and is endowed with an amiable disposition, personal charms and other winning qualities, that she acquires the designation of a *gaṇikā* and receives a seat of honour in the assemblies of men. She is always honoured by the king and is highly lauded by men

¹⁷⁹ पुष्पाकरचक्रं, मातृविवर्णनविशेषाः, शिखरशोभादीनिभोजनं, चन्दनपञ्चकः, etc.—Ibid, p. 32.

¹⁸⁰ See p. 69 (sūtras 47 and 38); p. 300 (sūtra 9).

qualified to appreciate merit; her favours and company are sought for, and she becomes, in fact, the observed of all observers, a model and pattern for all.¹⁸⁰ In the *Lalitavistara*, king Śuddhodana desires for the young Siddhārtha a bride who was as much learned in the *śāstras* and as accomplished in the arts as a *ganikā*.¹⁸¹ Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which is a work of the same period speaks equally, if not more, enthusiastically, about the excellences of the *ganikā*. Bharata describes her as one who knows the practical application of various arts, who possesses a deep knowledge of many of the sciences (*śāstras*), who is skilled in the sixty-four *kalās* and in dancing to the accompaniment of music, whose conduct is marked by respect towards superiors, by graceful and engaging manners, by charming gestures and sweet blandishments; who possessed strength and firmness of mind and at the same time modesty and a sweetness of temper; who is free from the characteristic defects of women; who speaks gracefully and clearly; who is clever in work and does not get tired—a woman possessed of all these rare qualities and accomplishments would be called a *ganikā*.¹⁸² That she was regarded by Bharata as a woman of great education and culture appears from the fact that the *ganikā*, when introduced as a character in a drama, is, according to him, to speak Sanskrit.¹⁸³ The uses to which the *ganikā* puts her money are also characterised by a desire for public good and her charity shows the noble tendencies of her cultured mind. The *ganikās* of the highest class, says Vātsyāyana, consider it as the highest gain to themselves when they receive sufficient money to spend on the building of temples, excavation of

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आभिरमुज्जिता वेशा दीक्षयपुत्राभिता ।

कनते वचिकामन्दं खानं च मनसं यदि ॥

पूजिता सा सदा राजा नृपनद्विच संयुता ।

मार्चनीयाभिनया च सख्ययुता च जायते ॥—Ibid, p. 40 (*sūtras* 20-21).

181 हासि विविधकुशला श्रुतिका शरीर ;—*Lalitavistara*, xii. 139.

182 *Bhāratiya Nāṭyaśāstra*—(Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press ed.), Chap. xxiv, 109-113.

183 राजस्य वचिकामन्दं विलसावाकरोय'च । काकायकाकरज्जं दीप्तं दातुं तु संयुतम् ॥—*Ibid*, Chap. xvii, 37-38.

tanks, planting of gardens, erection of bridges and of houses for sacrifice and ceremonies or the institution of permanent arrangements for the worship of the gods. They valued very highly any chance of giving away cows to Brāhmaṇas, of course, through a third person, because no Brāhmiṇa would accept anything from a courtesan.¹⁸⁴

The *gaṇikā* literally appears to mean a woman who is the member of a *gaṇa* or corporation, whose charms are the common property of the whole body of men associated together by a common bond, economic or political. Manu associates the *gaṇa* and the *gaṇikā* in one verse saying that the food offered by both were equally to be refused by a Brahmin.¹⁸⁵ The *gaṇa* might be a corporation of citizens, the *nāgarikajana-samavāya* of Vātsyāyana, like the one to which our *nāgaraka* belonged, or it might be a political body like that of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī whose *gaṇikā*, Ambapālīkā, was a glory to their capital and was credited with all the virtues and qualities contemplated by Vātsyāyana and Bharata, thus testifying that their definitions were not fanciful and imaginary. We read in the *Mahāvagga* that she was charming, attractive, graceful, possessed of a fine and tender complexion, generous, and proficient in dancing, song and music. The wealth and power that the *gaṇikā* of Vaiśālī possessed and the position that she occupied, were in no way inferior to those of the best of the proud Licchavis; her train was as numerous and as sumptuously decorated, her carriages were as magnificent, as those of the Licchavis against whom she drove up axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke. Her presence made the city of Vaiśālī shine forth in great splendour and glory. She constituted, as it were, a valued institution of the city, the high model of beauty and art thus set up by the *gaṇikā* of Vaiśālī roused a merchant of the rival city of Rājagaha to induce king Bimbisāra to have this institution of *gaṇikā* in

¹⁸⁴ *Kāmasūtra*, p. 340 (sūtra 25).

¹⁸⁵ अथान्नं अथिजातय विदुषा च अनुचितम् ।—*Manu*, iv. 209.

refinement as was the age of Vātsyāyana, women who possessed special proficiency in the arts were respected for the value of their art, and their company was sought for by all lovers of art; the long training and education needed for the acquisition of such literary and artistic accomplishments as the *ganikā* possessed, could not be obtained by a girl who was married and had to manage a household, especially as she was married rather early, though Vātsyāyana's chapter on courtship shows that many of them remained unmarried even after puberty. Moreover, it was certainly not considered decent for such a girl to attend the public schools of art or *gāndharva-śālās*, where the daughters of the *ganikās* received lessons in the arts, and formed, as Vātsyāyana says, acquaintance with the sons of the wealthy citizens;¹⁸⁸ nor could any but very wealthy parents afford to give their daughters such education at home. Where the parents were very rich, as in the case of the daughters of princes and high officials, they did receive, as we have seen before, a thorough education in the arts and sciences. Gopā was as learned and clever as any *ganikā*, as the *Lalitavistara* says. Then again, the wedded wife, on account of her manifold duties in the household, could not cultivate the arts as thoroughly as she would like to; besides, the great regard for purity in the married woman and the strict and rigid rules that guided her conduct, even in the age of Vātsyāyana, prohibited, as we have seen before, her receiving lessons in the arts except from her own husband. We see, therefore, that the *ganikās* like the Hetæreæ in the Athens of Pericles, were generally more educated and better skilled in the arts than the married women and the *nāgarakas*, though they had devoted wives at home, as the ideal of a wife drawn by Vātsyāyana shows, were attracted by the intellectual and artistic qualities of the educated *ganikā*. Such a noble soul as Bhāsa's Cārudatta, though he had

¹⁸⁸ तेषां कथा इति मुद्रयन्महाकाव्यं.....सन्दर्भयोगः।—Ibid, p. 384 (sūtra 15)

a devoted wife at home, who was ready to sacrifice the last bit of her personal property for his sake and for whom he himself had a great regard, did not scruple to falling in love with the actress Vasantasenā, and the *Mṛcchakatika* makes him even marry her.¹⁸⁹ With such ideals of the devoted wife as we have in Vātsyāyana and in Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, it cannot be said with any sound reason that the *nāgaraka* sought the company of the *ganikā* because his life at home was miserable or unbearable, but evidently he was drawn by her accomplishments. Even the general public, who though they despised her for the life she led, tolerated her on account of her high artistic qualifications which they found many occasions to enjoy and appreciate at the *prekshṇakas* or performances at the festive assemblies (*samājas*) such as we have described above.

Conclusion.—We have thus seen that the *nāgaraka* was a man of considerable intellectual culture and æsthetic refinement, but at the same time he was not very scrupulous with regard to sexual morality. He is the product of an age when wealth and riches were flowing into India through an extensive commerce with the east and the west and the picture that the *Kāmasūtra* furnishes of his life also shows the virtues and vices characteristic of such an age. In the first place we observe that this materialistic prosperity had led to the formation in the country of materialistic ideals that made more of the comforts of the world than of *dharma* or the life of discipline. There are people, says Vātsyāyana, who hold that the *dharmas* should not be practised, in as much as the fruits of such practice,—the rewards for these austerities, are only prospective, and moreover they are doubtful and uncertain at best; who but a fool would give away to others,

¹⁸⁹ *Cārudatta*, Act iii, pp. 63 ff. Vātsyāyana also refers to the marriage with a courtesan, though it was fully binding for only one year, after which period, the husband still retained some, but not exclusive, claim to her affections:—राक्षिपदस्य संवत्सर-
न्ययनिर्वाहसती यथा कामिनी सात् ऊर्ध्वमपि संवत्सरम् etc.—*Kāmasūtra*, p. 365 (*sūtras* 20-22).

what he has in his own hands, in the hope of some future gain? Better a dove to-day than a peacock to-morrow. Better a copper token (*Karṣāpaṇa*) that is certain than a piece of sterling gold—a *niṣka*—the acquisition of which is doubtful. Vātsyāyana, of course, combats these ideas, but it shows that the materialistic ideals of pleasure are there in the country, though limited only to a small section of people, mostly to the *Laukāyatikas* or materialists.¹⁰⁰

It must not be imagined, however, that the age in which Vātsyāyana lived was, as a whole, an age of gross materialism or that the whole of Indian society at the time bore this character; it will be a mistake to suppose that the *nāgaraka's* easy morality was even a main feature of the character of the majority of the people. In the first place, Vātsyāyana paints in his *nāgaraka* the picture of a particular and limited section of the dwellers in cities. A *nāgaraka* is a wealthy person who has received a liberal education in youth and has already earned a competence by inheritance or by personal endeavour, so that he can afford to lead the life of comfort and pleasure in a city. The class which he represents has lived in all ages and in all countries wherever economic prosperity has enabled a section of the people to command and enjoy the good things of the earth. His counterpart is not wanting in our modern days in countries which are rich in material wealth and where the people "enjoy life." He can be traced with but few changes, and these only in details, in the salons of Paris and Vienna, of London and Berlin. In India itself, his successors, though not absolutely extinct, are but few, for the good reason that the abundance of material riches and the consequent joys of life out of which the *nāgaraka* could grow, have departed from this country.

Then, again, we observe that the character of the matron

¹⁰⁰ न कर्मोचयेत्। एकमुक्तामालां। सविमलाम्। कौशल्यादिषु वस्त्रेषु परमं कुशलं।
परमं कर्मोचः को ननुप्राप्तुं येन सविमलाम्। सविमलः कर्मोचः सविमलः। (—Ibid., p. 28,
(*sūtras* 25-30).

was marked by firmness and purity, modesty and restraint, showing that the general ideals of society as regards sexual purity had not suffered since the age of the *Dharmasūtras*. In fact it is apparent from what Vātsyāyana says that the main current of social life had not undergone much transformation and that the ideals set up in the *Dharma*-codes still controlled society. He asserts that the whole structure of society is upheld and maintained by the observance of the principle of the division of the people into *varṇas* or classes and into *āśramas* or stages of life. In this society one does not marry until he has finished his education; after marrying he lives the life of a good citizen and brings up a family, and in advanced years, retires from worldly activities and devotes himself exclusively to matters spiritual. The Brāhmaṇas among the four classes were highly respected, their blessings being considered as conducive to long life and glory.¹⁹¹ Respect for the *Vedas* and the other Holy scriptures is insisted upon; it is declared that there is no room for doubting the validity of their teachings: in matters relating to life in this world, which can produce visible effects, one has to guide oneself in accordance with the ordinances of the Sacred Codes; and in matters relating to the life beyond and producing effects beyond the physical vision of man, one is also guided by the prescriptions of Holy Writ such as the performance of sacrifices and similar other observances. It is declared that the authority of the sacred scriptures is binding with regard to *dharma* or the principles of right conduct which have to be learned from *Śruti*, or the *Vedas*, and also from the assembly of men proficient in them.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ ब्राह्मणानां प्रशंसनानामिदं (यथैकमायुषम्) ।—Ibid, p. 380 (sūtra 51); also p. 170 (sūtra 38). Cf. वर्णाश्रमाचारविहितव्यवसायं ब्रह्मणोपायाः etc.—Ibid, p. 20 (sūtra 31); ब्रह्मचर्येणैव सावित्रावहवात् ।—p. 12 (sūtra 8); वाक्ये विद्यावद्व्यापीनर्वात् । कामं च कीदृशे । स्वादिरे धर्मे कीदृशं च ।—pp. 11-12 (sūtras 2-4).

¹⁹² असीदिकलादहोर्ध्वलादप्रशानां ब्रह्मादीनां वाक्यान् प्रवर्तयन्, कीदृकलाद्वृत्तादीनाम् प्रत्येकम् लक्षणव्याहृत्यः वाक्यादेव निवारणं धर्मः । तं सुविचरैकमनसा वाचं प्रतिपद्येत ।—Ibid, pp. 12-13 (sūtras 7-9).

Vedic sacrifices still appear to have constituted an important feature of the religious exercises of the people; along with other common occurrences of life sacrifices are mentioned by Vātsyāyana as occasions when there was a gathering of people of both sexes and we are told that even the virtuous matron could attend such assemblies with the permission of her husband. The erection of sacrificial altars and houses, formed one of the most earnest desires of women, nay even of the courtesans. Sacrifices formed an indispensable part of the ceremony of marriage which, if once performed in the presence of fire, i.e., with sacrifices, could never be repudiated; this is declared as the rule upheld by all teachers and throughout his chapter on courtship and marriage, Vātsyāyana advises a young lover, again and again, to ratify his marriage with the maiden of his love with sacrifices in the fire brought from the house of a *śrotriya*, i.e. a man who keeps up the sacrificial fire constantly burning in his house and daily offers oblations in it. A person initiated for sacrifice (*dīkṣita*) is also mentioned along with persons who have taken certain vows or have assumed the marks of certain sects of ascetics.¹⁹³ This makes it abundantly clear that the sacrifices laid down in the *grhya-sūtras* still held a prominent place in the life of the period when Vātsyāyana lived and here he is corroborated by epigraphic evidence. The inscriptions in Western India of the early centuries of the Christian era show that sacrifices on a large scale were performed at the time and munificent gifts were made to Bhikṣus and Brāhmanas even by persons of foreign extraction like Uṣavadāta. Vātsyāyana speaks of a thousand

¹⁹³ प्रतिपन्नानभिप्रेतावसावर्तिनी नायकः श्रीविद्यानारायणसिमानाथ कुमारासीयं यथाकृति इत्या च निः परिग्रहेत् । अथिवाचिका हि विवाहा न निवर्तन् इत्याचार्यसमयः ।—Ibid, pp. 219-220 (*sūtras* 11 and 13). See also pp. 220-222 (*sūtras* 14-27); and आवाहे विवाहे यत्ने नग्नं सखीभिः सङ्गं गौडी ईश्वरानिगमनमित्यनुवादा कुर्वात् ।—Ibid, p. 228 (*sūtra* 15). विवाहे यज्ज्वलनीकवेत्तु etc.—Ibid, p. 274 (*sūtra* 41); सखीनानामुपेक्षायां निवर्तनं etc.—Ibid, p. 340 (*sūtra* 25); श्रीमिन्मन्त्रं मन्त्रपरिचीरी श्रीचिन्मन्त्रं प्रतिनी विधिनी वा etc.—Ibid, p. 351 (*sūtra* 28). .

cows given away to Brāhmanas. Moreover the daily performance of *bali-karma* at the *nāgaraka's* house under the supervision of his wife shows still the influence of the *grhya-sūtras*.¹⁹⁴ Then again, the *nāgaraka*, though a pleasure-seeker, was a worshipper of the Gods. We have already referred to the niche at the head of his bed for holding an image of the *iṣṭa-devatā* or the deity to whom he was particularly devoted and also to the daily worship of the gods at the household temple. Moreover, he, and specially his wife, took part in fasts and observances whose number was apparently not insignificant. Besides, we have seen, how at regular, as well as irregular, intervals the public took part in grand religious festivals (*ghaṭā*) often accompanied by processions of images and attended by men and women in large numbers. Even a courtesan considered it as the greatest happiness of her life (*lābhātīśaya*) to institute arrangements for the worship of the gods.¹⁹⁵ All these facts go to prove that religious observances played a great part in the life of the people in Vātsyāyana's time, and that the Code of Manu had at the time acquired its full authority over the public mind as is shown by Vātsyāyana who speaks of *Svāyambhuva Manu* as the person who had taken up the *Dharma* section of Prajāpati's all-embracing encyclopædia and dealt with it in a separate treatise. Besides, Yājñavalkya's great code, second in importance to Manu alone, is supposed to have been composed about the time when Vātsyāyana lived.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ For the epigraphic evidence see *Epigraphia Indica*, vol viii, pp. 59-96, etc.; also *Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, vols. iv and v. नीलकण्ठो वाचापरितं ब्राह्मणेनो दार्णं ।—*Kēmasūtra*, p. 340 (*sūtra* 25); and निवववाचरितवविद्वर्जं—*Ibid*, p. 224 (*sūtra* 3)

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 43 (*sūtra* 6); p. 224 (*sūtra* 3); p. 228 (*sūtra* 26); pp. 40-51; p. 226 (*sūtra* 15); p. 311 (*sūtra* 20); p. 340 (*sūtra* 25).

¹⁹⁶ मजापतिर्हि मजाः कदा तादां स्तितिविद्वन् निपतैस्त्वापनमन्मन्त्रानां ब्रह्महृदयेषु प्रोवाच । तदेकदेवं जायन्तुषी ननुवर्माविचारिषं इषक् प्रचार ।—*Ibid*, p. 4 (*sūtras* 5-6). For Yājñavalkya, see Weber, *History of Indian Literature* (Eng. Trans.), p. 281.

It was in this period, again, that Mahāyāna Buddhism grew and spread, and it must be admitted that the literature of the Mahāyāna school bears on its face the impress of this age of æsthetic refinement and culture. Its great preacher, Āśvaghoṣa, sought to popularise his faith by writing dramas and magnificent poetical works instead of works on dry dialectics and abstruse theology. The few fragments that we possess of Āśvaghoṣa's dramas, *Sāriputraprakaraṇa* and others, show that in at least one of them the *ganikā* played almost as important a part as in Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, and that too in a work where Buddha himself makes his appearance with some of his dearest disciples. Āśvaghoṣa was in the first place a theologian and a dialectician, as his *Vajrasūcī* would go to prove, but in an age of great æsthetic culture, he had to adapt himself to the refined tastes of his audience and so he sweetened the tasteless doses, of his dry theological doctrines with the honey of poetry and music, and he knew how to mix the ingredients with all the skill of a master. The *Lalitavistara* also has succeeded eminently in combining intense love and reverence for the Master with poetic skill and grace. The *Dīvyāvadāna* and the *Mahāvastu* also appear to have received, at least, some additions in this era of *kathā*s and *ākhyānas* of which we find a frequent mention in Vātsyāyana.¹⁹⁷

In the next place, we gather from the philosophical literature of the age in which Vātsyāyana lived, that it was one of intense philosophical speculation. Nāgārjuna in the second century A.D. had established his *Sūnyavāda* or Philosophic Nihilism and he was followed by a string of great logicians of his school. His success roused to activity all the orthodox schools of philosophy the representatives of which proceeded to compose new works, to write extensive

¹⁹⁷ For Āśvaghoṣa's Dramas, see Lüders, *Königlich preuss. Turfan Exp., Kleinere Sanskrit Texte*, Heft I and *Das Sāriputraprakaraṇa* (Sitz. der K. preuss. Akad. d. Wissen.), 1911.

commentaries on the already existing texts, or at any rate to bring their systems up to date by fresh additions calculated to combat successfully the new school that was gradually acquiring strength and volume. Whether we do or do not accept the conclusion of Prof. Jacobi that the *Nyāyadarśana* and the *Brahmasūtra* were originally composed between A.D. 200 and 450, we have less reason to doubt him when he assigns to this period the old commentators, Vātsyāyana, Upavarṣa and Baudhāyana (the *Vṛttikāra*) who were all working to bring their respective systems in line with the new ideas originated by Buddhist thinkers. Even the author of the *Kāmasūtra* has shown the prevailing tendency of the time by defining his general concepts and discussing the current theories about them in the approved philosophical method, and he has approached his subject with the detachment of a scientific observer and the analytic skill of a subtle logician. Moreover, we must not forget that in the period embraced by the first four centuries of the Christian era, the *Mahābhārata* was receiving the final form in which we possess it now.¹⁹⁸

There can be no doubt, then, that this age of great philosophical discovery and analysis, the age that produced the *Lalitavistara* and the code of Yājñavalkya could not have been marked by a general low tone in moral life. The age to be studied as a whole requires a study of all sides of the Indian civilisation of the time based on a far ampler stock of materials than only Vātsyāyana can supply. Vātsyāyana's work deals with only one aspect of it and shows that his was an age of great intellectual activity in all directions, and the great thinker makes an analysis of the erotic feelings and of the elementary relations between the sexes in a right scientific

¹⁹⁸ For Prof. Jacobi's views see *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1911, p. 29. For Vātsyāyana's philosophical discussions see *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 11-25. For the date of the *Mahābhārata*, see E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 397-98 and Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, i, p. 403.

spirit: in doing so he naturally turned for illustration to the class that had cultivated this side of the humanistics for centuries, at least since the time of Pāṇini, to whom as we have seen, the *nāgaraka* was a familiar character. Vātsyāyana does not cast a charm over illicit love, nor does he invest it with the halo of romance. He merely gives a frank and matter-of-fact account of the social sore, and proceeds to a masterly analysis of the psychology of the man who seeks such love—the jealousy, anger, hatred, passion, greed, selfishness that working within the brain of the human animal, cloud his judgment and pervert his tastes. He points out categorically that a scientific work (*śāstra*), dealing with a subject as a whole, must be exhaustive, but that is no reason why a particular practice described in it should be carried into effect; for example, the taste, the properties and the digestive qualities of dog's flesh are given in medical works, but that is no reason why it should be adopted as an article of diet by sober men.¹⁰⁰ He winds up his thesis by saying, "whenever, on account of the character of the subject dealt with, I had to speak about things that might smack of lust and desire, I have taken care immediately afterwards to censure and condemn them", and he adds that, he himself had followed the strictly pure life of a *brahmachārin* and had been deeply immersed in contemplation (*śamādhi*) while composing the work for the benefit of the world and not for feeding the flames of desire. The ideal of life that he holds up, is that of a harmonious blending of the three elements—*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*—which sum up according to Indian ideas all human motives of action for the people of the world. He enjoins that a rightminded person should occupy himself with such actions as, while giving pleasure (*kāma*), do not stand in the way of the acquisition of the good things

¹⁰⁰ For Vātsyāyana's analysis of illicit love see *Kāmasūtra*, pp. 60-65 (*sūtra* 5-22); and his *Pāradārīka* section, pp. 247-298. Cf. also न बाह्यनिर्वाहो विनायत् प्रकीर्तिं कारकं भवेत् । बाह्यार्थान् व्यापिकी विद्यात् प्रकीर्तिं लेख्यमिति । रत्नदीपविपाका हि रत्नां वक्ष्यामि वक्ष्ये । जीर्णिता इति तत् किं कारकमर्थं विचक्षते ।—*Ibid*, p. 170 (*sūtras* 37-38).

of the earth (*artha*), and at the same time do not disregard the behests of *dharma*, that is, as he explains, do not afford any ground for the fear of their being followed by evil effects hereafter. This is the same as the teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā* that God dwells in such desires as do not violate *dharma*. Vātsyāyana thus emphasises the working out of the threefold functions of man (*trivarga*) in such a way that there may be no conflict among these three, while he is not unmindful of the fourth or final good of mankind, *viz.*, *mokṣa*,²⁰⁰ the ultimate release from the limitations that curb the eternal growth of his soul.

²⁰⁰ अधिकांशमादुक्ता ये चिन्ता रागवर्जनाः । तद्वन्नगरमनसैव ते यद्वाहिनिवारिताः ॥ तदेतद्गन्तव्यं च परेण च समाधिना । विहितं लोकायार्थं न रागाद्योऽस्य संविधिः ॥ रक्षन् धर्माधिक्यानां स्थितिं सां लोकवर्तिनीम् । अस्य ब्राह्मणस्य तत्त्वज्ञो भवतीह जितेन्द्रियः ।—Ibid, pp. 381-382 (*sūtras* 54, 57 and 58). किं स्वात्परमेत्याशङ्क्य कार्ये यत्किञ्च जायते । न चाशङ्कं सुखं चेति यत्प्रियास्तत्र व्यवस्थिताः ॥ चिन्तयैवाथकं यस्याहोरोक्तस्य वा पुनः । कार्यं तदपि कुर्वीत न लेकार्थं विवाधकम् ।—Ibid, p. 26 (*sūtras* 50-51) Cf. धर्माधिक्यो भूतेषु कालोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ।—*Bhagavadgītā*, viii, 11; see also स्वादिरे धर्मं मोक्षं च ।—*Kūmasūtra*, p. 12 (*sūtra* 4).

VĀLMĪKI AS HE REVEALS HIMSELF IN HIS POEM.

A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH.

DR. B. BARUA, M.A., D.LIT. (LONDON),
Lecturer in Pali, University of Calcutta.

There are different ways of judging and appreciating a poem and one which has immensely influenced the civilisation of a great people, and the intrinsic worth of which is beyond dispute. These different ways can be conveniently reduced to a few and distinguished as falling under the following methods :—

1. Scholastic or critical.
2. Psychological or psychogenetic.
3. Historical.

Let us examine what these methods signify, and ascertain how they, when judiciously combined, can help us to realise that a poem is nothing but a permanent record of the inner life of the poet and a reflection of the age and society in which he lived.

1. *Scholastic or critical approach.*—Under this we have to include two methods, ancient and modern. The ancient method is the method of its commentators which combines within itself an analytic treatment of poetry with philological dissection of words and traditional exegesis. The commentators judge from outside whether or no the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a great poem, whether or no it possesses all the characteristics of an epic poem. They examine the central idea and point out how it animates and justifies the whole narrative, which also they put to the test so as to determine its suitability for the grandeur of an epic (*mahākavya*). They come to a conclusion

from a judgment of the propriety (*aucitya*) of such indispensable elements of a great poem as grandeur of the subject, sweetness of the verses, the music of the rhythm, the melody and majesty of tone, the loathing of the false and the base, combination of all the sentiments heightening the effect, striking situations with dramatic setting and above all the sublimity of the moral. The main task which the commentators set themselves is to explain the text and to reconcile from a traditional and theological standpoint, all the discrepancies that may suggest themselves.

The modern method, on the other hand is partly critical and partly historical. It agrees with the ancient method in so far as it judges things from outside. While the ancient method tends as a rule to reconcile discrepancies, and defects, the critical method of the modern school seeks honestly to judge things as they are, detecting interpolations and determining the original form of the Epic. Weighing the internal and external evidences it attempts to fix the probable date of composition with the further object of determining its importance as a literary composition and historical record.

2. *Psychological approach*.—There is, beside the scholastic or critical, another method which is psychological. Instead of judging a thing from outside, it leads us to place ourselves somehow or another at the point of view of the poet himself, to see things as he would see them. The scenes, incidents, and characters which are all supposed to be real when judged from outside, are all regarded as mere creations of the poet's imagination, when looked at from the standpoint of the poet himself. These, in other words, are considered, as mere devices whereby the poet reveals a history of his inner life and experiences, and portrays the state of society and civilisation under which he lived, moved and had his being. This method which we call psychological, is psychogenetic in so far as it seeks to trace the development of the poet's mind.

3. *Historical approach.*—The psychological or the psychogenetic method, when judiciously applied, can help us just to have a communion with the poet or his inner life, but it is not sufficient in itself to enable us to solve all the problems that are apt to arise in connection with the poet, his age, country and environment. The deeper problems of history still confront the critic—at what stage of Indian civilisation, the *Rāmāyaṇa* with all its grandeur became possible and what effect it had on the culture of the succeeding ages.

In this paper I propose to approach the subject from a psychological standpoint. If instead of judging a poem from outside and judging it piecemeal, we are interested in judging it as a whole, the best and only method will be not to place ourselves outside it, but to place ourselves *in* it, to coincide by intellectual sympathy with what is unique in it, and above all, to have a communion with the poet whose life, education, character and experience are in the background of his work. There is nothing more profitable, I think, than this kind of study.

To proceed with our task, a word is necessary, at the outset, about the original form of the Epic, which is the only record which the inspired saint Vālmiki has left of himself. Modern critics are of opinion that the Epic in its original form consisted of five books, II-VI, the first and the seventh being later additions. "What was obviously a part of the commencement of the original poem, has been separated from its continuation at the opening of Bk. II, and now forms the beginning of the 5th Canto of Bk. I. Some Cantos have also been interpolated in the genuine Books." This is the fruitful result of Professor Jacobi's investigation as summed up by Prof. Macdonell.¹ Prof. Griffith remarks in the Appendix to his beautiful translation²:—"The *Rāmāyaṇa* ends,

¹ *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 304.

² P. 6.

epically complete, with the triumphant return of Rāma and his rescued queen to Ayodhyā, and his consecration and coronation in the capital of his forefathers". *Even if the story were not complete*, the conclusion of the last canto of the sixth Book, evidently the work of a later hand than Vālmiki's, which speaks of Rāma's glorious and happy reign, and promises blessings to those who read and hear the *Rāmāyana*, would be sufficient to show that, when these verses were added, the poem was considered to be finished. The *Uttarakāṇḍa* or Last Book is merely an appendix or a supplement, and relates only events antecedent and subsequent to those described in the original poem. Prof. Cowell observes³ to the same end, "both the great Hindu Epics end in disappointment and sorrow. In the *Mahābhārata* the five victorious brothers abandon the hardwon throne to die one by one in a forlorn pilgrimage to the Himālaya; and in the same way Rāma only regains his wife, after all his toils, to lose her. It is the same in the later Homeric cycle—the heroes of the *Iliad* perish by ill-fated deaths But in India and Greece alike this is an afterthought of a self-conscious time, which has been subsequently added to cast a gloom on the strong cheerfulness of the heroic age".

It will not be out of place to state the arguments whereby these scholars justify their conclusions.

1. That there are two tables of contents in the First Book, cantos I and III, which do not tally with each other, and the first of which takes no notice of the First and Last Books.

2. That the interpolations are so loosely connected with the main body of the Epic as to make the junctures easily detectable.

3. That at least the *Uttarakāṇḍa* must be left out, as the Epic narrative had probably like its legendary prototype a happy ending.

³ *Academy*, Vol. 8, No. 43.

I cannot endorse these views without certain reservations. It seems to me that the end of the original epic was tragic and Sītā's disappearance into the bosom of the earth was very likely the culmination. Hence, the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is a prodigious accretion round a nucleus which originally formed an integral part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If we think that Vālmiki strictly reproduced in his narrative the outline of a Rāma story as is said to have been narrated to him by Nārada in the first canto of Bk. I, we are sure to labour under a great misconception. In that case, we would identify the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is an Epic, with the older bardic tales on which it was based.

After all the concessions that can possibly be made to the above arguments, I do not see how two entire books could be put aside as interpolations simply on the ground that there are two tables of contents which differ in certain details from each other, and the first of which does not mention the topics treated of in the First and the Last Books. To do so would be, I am afraid, to identify the narrative of Vālmiki's Epic with an older form of the Rāma story put into the mouth of Nārada. 'This cannot surely be done except by way of *suggestio falsi*. To leave out the *Uttarakāṇḍa* on the ground that the Epic should have a happy ending like the Rāma story of Nārada would be as if to say that Vālmiki's was a simple and faithful reproduction of the outline of a story which he found ready-made in the country. The *Rāmāyaṇa* must *ex hypothesi* be judged as an Epic with its own moral and purpose, distinguishing it from the legendary basis, which had a different purpose altogether. If it can be rightly supposed that the starting point of an *epopée* is a striking moral which lends colour to, and determines the character of the narrative, composed of legends which are discordant in themselves but concordant as interwoven into a whole, the end suggested by the moral of the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have been tragic. The older Rāma story as found in the introductory canto of the Epic and

in the Buddhist *Jātaka*, has a happy ending as all the folk-tales and the ballads which are still popular usually have. Scanning these two older Rāma stories along with others to be found in the *Mahābhārata* we see that they can all be grouped in either of the following two classes :

1. Those that seek to represent Rāma as an *avatāra*—a national hero and finished example of moral excellence. To this class belong the *Rāma Upākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*, Bk. I, the *Daśaratha Jātaka* as it occurs in the *Jātaka* commentary and the Rāma story of Nārada incorporated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself.

2. Those of which the purpose is to inculcate, by the example of Rāma, the necessity and wisdom of keeping up one's spirits and strength of purpose even in the midst of sorrow and trials. Such are the Rāma stories of the *Mahābhārata*, Bk. III, cantos 277-291, and of the *Daśaratha Jātaka* as it occurs in the canonical *Jātaka* Book.

In neither of these two classes could be placed the Rāma episode of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for it stands by itself and conveys throughout one central idea, or a moral, as we say, which suggests a tragic end to the fable conveying it. It is stated in the introductory canto (canto III, Bk. I) that the *śloka* which Vālmiki uttered at a moment of sudden shock of grief, contained the moral, and that he proceeded thereafter to develop an epic out of the current Rāma story in the light of the teaching of the *śloka*. The oft-quoted *śloka* reads :

*mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhām tvam āgama śāsvatīḥ samāḥ
yat krauñca-mithunādekam avadhiḥ kāmamohitam*

which Griffith neatly renders,

“ No fame be thine, for endless time,
Because, base outcast, of thy crime,
Whose cruel hand was fain to slay
One of this gentle pair at play ! ”

This prophetic utterance of Valmiki one might take as a later invention, since it occurs in the introductory canto which is regarded as an interpolation. But the fact remains, as we shall see anon, that this is the only tune which the Indian Epic keeps harping on, the one spirit which permeates the whole narrative. Indeed, the Epic narrative is not the bardic Rāma story only but has been admirably done up with this one end in view by a harmonious combination of Nārada's Rāma story and other episodes, all drawn from the great Indian stock of legends and exquisitely interwoven. That the Epic narrative and the bardic Rāma story are not the same is clearly stated in the introductory cantos (Bk. I, cantos II and III). Here at any rate lies the answer why there should be two tables of contents instead of one; one table for Nārada's story (in canto I, Bk. I) and another for Valmiki's narrative in canto III of the same Book.

In this second table there is mention of certain topics which are handled along with others in the *Bāla* and the *Uttarakāṇḍa* and so far as the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is concerned, it contains only one topic of the table, viz. the banishment of Sītā, and its other details are not indicated in the table. In this table the item "banishment of Sītā" comes just after the item "discharge of the legions." Now, the discharge of the legions marks the close of Book VI which just precedes the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. The *Uttarakāṇḍa*, it is strange to say, does not take up the thread of the narrative, i.e. the banishment of Sītā until after its first 43 cantos, which are digressions devoted to extraneous matters abounding in popular and mystical notions about the cycles of time, the origin of the *Rakṣasas* and so forth. I think here is sufficient reason to believe that there was some basic fact which was wrought into a prodigious structure of fancy and mysticism. To wind up, I take the *Uttarakāṇḍa* as a whole to be an interpolation except certain cantos or portions which relate to the episode of Sītā's banishment and its sequel. Similarly the introductory cantos,

a few mythological legends ascribed to Viśvāmitra and the passages where there is an attempt to prove that Vālmīki was a contemporary of Rāma may be left out of consideration. The question of interpolations can partly be settled by a careful comparison of the existing recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The interpolations wherever they occur, are to be regarded as the work of some unknown Indian Pisistratus. The rhapsodists who mingled their own songs with the Epic, must also be allowed a share in the growth of the original poem to its present dimensions. These later additions have their own value and historical importance. But the final question of interpolation cannot be settled without a close study of Vālmīki himself. Hence the question arises, who was Vālmīki and what was he.

Prof. Wilson has gathered⁴ the following information regarding Vālmīki: "Vālmīki was the son of Varuṇa, the regent of the waters, one of whose names is Prachetas. According to the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa*, the sage, although a Brāhmana by birth, associated with foresters and robbers. Attacking on one occasion the seven Rishis, they expostulated with him successfully, and taught him the *mantra* of Rāma reversed, or *Marā, Marā*, in the inaudible repetition of which he remained immovable for thousands of years, so that when the sages returned to the same spot, they found him still there converted into a *valmīka* or ant-hill, by the nests of the termites, whence his name of Vālmīki".

The current popular tradition about Vālmīki is very much the same except that it attributes his conversion to the instrumentality of Nārada instead of to that of the seven Rishis. Thus popular tradition and the *Yogavāsīṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* representing Vālmīki as a sage turned from a robber seek only to sing the glory and the chastening influence of the name Rāma. They recognise by his quondam name Ratnākara, i.e. Treasure-mine, that spiritual faculties lie dormant even in the

⁴ *Specimens of the Hindu Theatre*, I., p. 313.

hardened soul of a criminal and highway robber and that the soul can be awakened to conscience by the proper exhortation of a *sadguru*. They also inculcate that complete transformation of the soul is possible only by the redeeming power of faith, that the Alabaster of sin can only drop off by the sweet name of the Lord—Rāma, Rāma. The fanciful derivation of the name Vālmiki from *valmika*, or ant-hill is intended only to emphasize the rigid austerity of the sage.

An earlier and less exaggerated account of his life can be gleaned from the *Bāla* and *Uttarakāṇḍas*, the Books which we have, with certain reservations, put down as interpolations. In the introductory cantos of Bk. I. and in the cantos of *Uttarakāṇḍa* where the story of Rāma and Sītā is continued, we perceive throughout a deliberate attempt to prove that Vālmiki was a contemporary of Rāma, in that his epic is stated to have been brought to a close a few years after Rāma's return from exile, and this is the one fact which sharply distinguishes the earlier account from the modern Indian tradition especially current in Bengal, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed 60 thousand years before Rāma, *Rām nā hote Rāmāyaṇ*, i.e. *Rāmāyaṇa* when Rāma was not" a proverbial satire on chimerical speculations. Although the accounts in the *Bāla* and *Uttarakāṇḍas* complete each other and partly coincide, a distinction is to be made with regard to the motive in each. The *Ādikāṇḍa* seems more concerned with the genesis of the Epic, and the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is more concerned with its recital throughout the world. I proceed to summarise from these two *Kāṇḍas* all the main facts that can be gathered about Vālmiki.

First, as to the *Ādikāṇḍa*. Vālmiki is introduced as a gifted saint who lived with Bhāradvāja and other pupils in the solitude of a beautiful hermitage, not far from Ayodhyā, in the sequestered valley of the Tamasā and the Ganges. He received from Nārada the outline of the Rāma story, representing Rāma as an ideal man adorned with all the qualities of head and heart.

After finishing his bath in the Tamasā, he chanced to see in the adjoining forest a pair of *krauñcas* at play with each other. Suddenly a cruel fowler shot an arrow and pierced the male bird. The *krauñci* was disconsolate and bitterly mourned the tragic separation from her mate. This painful sight moved the heart of Vālmiki and the impious act of the fowler kindled wrath in him, and with a mingled feeling of intense grief and disgust, he burst forth quite unconsciously a poetic utterance, a pronouncement of curse on the fowler. Returning to his cottage he brooded over the pathetic scene and mused on the *śloka* that had expressed his sorrow and grief. In this psychological moment the poetic vision dawned upon him. The inspiration came from Brahmā himself urging him to convey the truth and pointing out the Rāma story as the proper vehicle. Accordingly he set about to weave the instructive narrative of the *Rāmāyaṇa* out of the Rāma story with which he combined many other legends told by holy sages of old. When he finished his work, he became anxious to see it recited all over the world. In such a moment the twins Kuśa and Lava, who were living under his protection, happened to come to him. In this princely pair of graceful voice, he found the first rhapsodists to whom he entrusted the task to recite his heroic song—

“.....in tranquil shades where sages throng;
Where the good resort, in lowly home and royal court.”

Kuśilava carried out the task to the satisfaction of the master by whom they had been trained. This unheard of heroic song appealed to all and was received with favour wherever it was chanted, even in the royal court of Rāma himself.

Next, as to the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. Vālmiki received with a fatherly affection the forsaken Sitā in his hermitage where she had been helplessly banished. There she gave birth to the princely twins Kuśa and Lava, who by a singular fortune, were brought up under the saintly care of Vālmiki. They

were trained to recite the *Rāmāyaṇa* and when Rāma performed the Horse sacrifice, Vālmīki accompanied by the twin rhapsodists visited Ayodhyā where the princely singers drew the tears of the court by singing of the strange fate of which their mother the innocent Sītā had been the victim.

This is all the information we have of Vālmīki from the two *Kāṇḍas* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and all that we have known may be summed up in a line,—that Vālmīki was a Brāhmaṇa, an ascetic, a saint, a seer and above all a poet. These are the main facts of Vālmīki's biography, which, however, have no meaning except when studied in connection with the history of his inner life—his mind and thought revealed in his great work.

If we judge of his personal history from his poem and from his poem alone, we may be involved in uncertainty in every detail, but there is one statement which can surely be vouchsafed as certain, viz., that he was a man with all his good qualities and limitations.

The popular belief that Rāma was an *avatāra* seems to have been gaining ground in the time of Vālmīki and it was through the agency of the rhapsodists that this belief was fast assuming a theocratic character. In spite of the unavoidable influence of the existing ballads deifying Rāma, Vālmīki was one of the many sages of popular tradition whose standpoint was pre-eminently human. He was anxious to represent Rāma more as an ideal man than as a god incarnate; at any rate he emphasized mainly the human side of Rāma's personality. Wherever he had to portray Rāma's character, he was careful to safeguard his own position by comparing him and not identifying him with all that is known as the most potent among natural forces, nor with the highest in nature. As a matter of fact he always employed in such cases the particle *iva*

which means "like unto." Let us take a few instances. In Book II, canto 1, Rāma and his three brothers are all said to have sprung from king Daśaratha and to have clung around their affectionate father like four arms. This conception underwent a change at the hands of the rhapsodists who pictured the sons of Daśaratha as the four portions of the substance of Viṣṇu, the four-armed god, separately incarnated. In the same canto Rāma is said to have become among men as good as the self-sprung God (*Svayambhuriva bhūtānām babhūva gunavattarah*). Again Rāma is spoken of as being, in wisdom, like Brhaspati, and in strength, like Śacīpati, who shone with virtue as the sun shines gloriously with his rays, and shone, indeed, with all the virtues like unto the Lord of the Universe, and him the world might claim as its lord (*Lokanāthopamam nātham akāmayata medinī*). In the same way and in the same canto Bharata and Śatrughna are likened to the great Indra and Varuṇa (*Mahendra-Varuṇopamau*). It may be noticed that the Benares recension of the *Rāmāyana* is wanting in that *śloka* of the Bombay edition where the Eternal Viṣṇu is represented as promising to descend into the world of men in response to the prayer of the distressed gods who had appealed to him for the destruction of Rāvaṇa. In fact we meet with a clearer statement from Vālmiki in Book VI, canto 117 (Bombay edition), proving that he considered Rāma to be a man, for in reply to Brahmā, who came to remind him of his divine origin and former position as the Lord of the Universe, Rāma is made to say :—

"I consider myself to be a man, Rāma the son of Daśaratha. Who really I am, and from whom I have been, O Lord, tell me (only) that."

Thus the task of Vālmiki seems to have been to bring out what moral perfection man may reach or what ethical and social ideals man may pursue, by purely human strength

(*parākrama*). Himself a man, Vālmīki naturally viewed things as man, and what is more, as a moral man. To be a moral man and not a man only, what are the principles to follow and what the duties and obligations to fulfil? Vālmīki's reply is, one must be a whole man, who should be judged in his relations with his own past tradition, present education, family connection, social environment and public duties and religion. He must not be under the control of time and fate in order to distinguish himself from animals and from man in the lower stage of civilisation, he should conform to a standard of conduct, i.e. he should be *ātma-vān*, self-reliant, having powers to control himself. This standard or *Dharma* to which he has to conform must be such as not to conflict with the general dictates of conscience, the established usage of a civilised society and the higher principles of religion. He must act in accordance with this principle, in whatever walks of life he may find himself and stand by and die for that principle. All this Vālmīki seeks to illustrate by his description of the slaughter of the demons, who had menaced the religious life of the hermits. The episode of Surpanakhā in the *Aranyakāṇḍa* serves also to bear out this view-point of Vālmīki. Surpanakhā, "the winnow-eared" sister of Rāvaṇa, impelled by her animal instincts and with all the wiles and witchcraft of a savage, had dared to encroach on the rights of Sītā, by virtue of which she could expect that her lord would always be devoted to her, and to impose her barbaric ideal on the Aryan civilisation. Surpanakhā sought the favour of Rāma in the presence of his wife, and when asked to court the love of Lakṣmaṇa, his younger brother; she ran to him, who again referred her back to Rāma in utter disregard of all decorum or female modesty. In spite of her being told that he could not oblige her, as he was already married, she persisted by the boast of her wild beauty to prevail upon Rāma. When all her gentle persuasion failed, she had recourse to threats. Nevertheless she was

rejected; and when she fell upon Sītā with her demoniac fury, and *anārya*-like grudge, Rāma was made to utter the following command :

“ Ne’er should we jest with creatures rude,
Of savage race and wrathful mood.
Think Lakshman, think how nearly slain,
My dear Videhan breathes again.
Let not the hideous wretch escape,
Without a mark to mar her shape ;
Strike, Lord of men, the monstrous fiend
Deformed, and foul, and evil-miened.”

Though Vālmīki raised the scale of civilisation by setting up a high standard of morality and duty, and sharply contrasted the civilized man from the brute and the savage, who are in a state of nature, he did not fail to impress the necessity of living in conformity with the simplicity of nature, and this simplicity is the one expression which characterises the life of the poet and can furnish a key to the appreciation of his great poem. Simplicity of conduct, simplicity of manners, simplicity of thought mingled with the simplicity of words, diction, metre and all the rest. That which adds grace to the character of a person, man or woman placed in high position is this one element,—natural simplicity, the simplicity, namely, with which we are all born. In the characters of Rāma and Sītā he has placed side by side the two aspects of life contrasted as stern and simple, the one full of heavy responsibilities of public duty, the other sweet with the tender cares of a wife which has a chastening influence on the husband and on which depends the domestic happiness of man.

And so in his own life we see the rigid austerity of a hermit contrasted and harmonized with the simplicity of nature, as is evident from his vivid description of the hermit life in the *Aranyakāṇḍa*. The contrast and harmony of rigidity of religious life and the simplicity of nature is apparently contradiction in terms. But how the austere mode of discipline could exist side by side with the tender emotions and the simple beauty of nature can well be illustrated by what Rāma said at the sight of Agastya's *ūśrama* :—

“How soft the leaves of every tree,
How tame each bird and beast we see!
Soon the fair home shall we behold
Of that great hermit tranquil-souled.
The deed the good Agastya wrought
High fame throughout the world has bought.
I see, I see his calm retreat
That balms the pain of weary feet.
Where white clouds rise from flames beneath,
Where bark-coats lie with many a wreath,
Where sylvan things, made gentle, throng,
And every bird is loud in song.”

This is what appeals naturally to the man who comes from the hot hubbub of town life to the quiet vicinage of a religious home in the forest. Again, when Rāma and Sītā had reached the Pañcavaṭī, attracted by its charm, Sītā, the simple child of nature, true to her instinct, broke forth into the following utterance :—

“See, see this smooth and lovely glade,
Which flowery trees encircling shade :

Do thou, beloved Lakshman, rear
 A pleasant cot to lodge us here.
 I see beyond that feathery brake
 The gleaning of lilled lake,
 Where flowers in sun-like glory throw
 Fresh odours from the wave below.
 Agastya's words now find we true,
 He told the charms which here we view

.

The spot is pure and pleasant : here
 Are multitudes of birds and deer.
 O Lakshman, with our father's friend,
 What happy hours we here shall spend ! ”

We feel as if Vālmīki himself had spoken through gentle Sītā the very words which he himself would have uttered at the sight of the charming Indian forest. Verily, it is he, in whom there is such simplicity, who can discern the purity of human soul when in tune with the whole of nature. In Book I, canto 2, Vālmīki is represented as expressing to his pupil Bhāradvāja,

“ See pupil dear, this lovely sight,
 The smooth-floored shallow, pure and bright,
 With not a speck or shade to mar,
 And clear as good men's bosoms are.”

These words put into the mouth of Vālmīki, occurring as they do in introductory canto may not have been actually uttered by him. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that the rhapsodists understood Vālmīki out and out and fittingly

ascribed them to him ; for verily his was the good man's heart clear as the transparent water of the Tamasā, truly gifted was he with that boon of nature-simplicity, whereby he could have a clear vision of the Divine.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* does not contain much information regarding the early years of Vālmīki, but it may be surmised from his patriotic and minute account of Kośala, her capital Ayodhya, her benevolent ruler, her wise ministers, her happy people and abundant riches, that he was an inhabitant of that country, which he was never tired of painting in extravagant colors :—

“On Sarju's bank, of ample size,
 The happy realm of Kosal lies,
 With fertile length of fair champaign
 And flocks and herds and wealth of grain.
 There, famous in her old renown,
 Ayodhya stands, the royal town.
 In bygone ages built and planned
 By sainted Manu's princely hand
 * * * * *
 King Dasharatha, lofty-souled,
 That city guarded and controlled,
 * * * * *
 As royal Indra, throned on high,
 Rules his fair city in the sky.
 She seems a painted city, fair,
 With chess-board line and even square.”

(Book I, canto 5.)

At least Kośala seems to have been the country where he had spent the greater portion of his life. He certainly knew of

a few other countries, e.g., Aṅga, Magadha and Kāśī in the east, Sindhu, Sauvīra and Saurāṣṭra in the west and the distant kingdom of Aśvapati Kekaya in the north-west, and such other countries which were linked with Kōśala by matrimonial alliances and bonds of friendship. He was probably educated at Taxila, the ancient seat of Brahmanical learning, where he had the good fortune of mastering the Vedas together with all the auxiliary sciences and arts. At any rate he appears to have been familiar with two routes whereby a person could travel from Ayodhyā to Rājagṛha, the capital of Girivraja, perhaps the older name of Takṣaśilā. Speaking of those two routes, Lassen¹ points out that the one taken by the envoys despatched from Ayodhyā was shorter than the route by which prince Bharata returned from the kingdom of his maternal uncle Aśvapati Kekaya in the Punjab. Although the existing recensions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* differ to some extent as to the enumeration of the principal stopping places on the roads, such an elaborate description of them as we obtain from Vālmiki's poem cannot be expected from a person who was not intimately acquainted with them. Perhaps he was engaged for a number of years as a councillor in the court of Ayodhyā, faithfully discharging the important function of a judge and jurist. At all events there is no other inference to be drawn from the intimate knowledge which, as the *Rāmāyaṇa* shows, he possessed of the onerous duties of ministers and other functionaries of the state. A further proof to be adduced in support of our surmise is that he represented among the ministers of king Daśaratha those sages and saints, Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva, Jayanta, Vijaya, Dhṛṣṭi, Siddhārtha, Arthasādhaka, Dharmapāla, Aśoka, Jābāla and Sumantra whose views should be authoritative in the Indian treatises on morality, law and polity.

¹ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II, p. 524

The *Rāmāyaṇa* abounds in descriptions of the duties of kings, which cannot but remind one of the teaching of Brhaspati, the views of whose school still survive in a *Sūtra* called after his name and are referred to in Kauṭilya's Science of Polity as well as in the *Mahābhārata*. I am referring here to those passages where Vālmiki enjoined that a king should, defying time and fate, be *ātmavān* and discharge all his duties with the one object of safeguarding the material and spiritual advantages of his people. Even if it be not allowed that he held the post of a minister or a judge, it cannot be denied that at least he was a citizen conversant with the art of government and juristic thought. This is corroborated by the central idea running through the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is nothing but a juristic conception of right, widened in scope and utilised for a spiritual purpose. The *śloka* "*ma niṣāda* etc.", which was the starting point of the Epic teaches, if I rightly understand it, that we have no business to encroach on the rights of others, even of the meanest things, to enjoy happiness in their own share and in their legitimate ways, and that any one who violates this rule, is to be looked down upon as a base outcast and punishable by law. King Daśaratha shot an arrow at the Andhamuni's son who came to draw water for quenching the thirst of his blind parents, mistaking the sound of the pitcher for the trumpet of a thirsty elephant. Although it was not a conscious crime of the king, he was cursed by the sorrowing parents that he must share the same fate. The underlying arguments with which Vālmiki justifies the fateful curse is that Daśaratha interfered with the right of the blind family to live happily and suffered in consequence. Likewise was Surpanakhā punished as she endeavoured to encroach on the conjugal right of Sītā in tempting Rāma to marry her. In the same way Rāvana with his family and people went to destruction, because he had madly violated the divine right by which the princely pair in exile had sought to live in the Dandakā forest. That

Vālmiki's standpoint is Brāhmanical and juristic is borne out by the fact that he, inspite of his teaching the *dasakuśalakarma*, *ahimsā* and the rest, justified slaughter under unavoidable circumstances, e.g. in the case of Agastya (Book III, canto 8), who devoured the demon Vātāpi and killed his brother, although it was quite inconsistent with the hermit life that viewed every creature with sympathy. Herein Vālmiki differed from the Jainas and the Buddhists, who under no pretext gave sanction to an act of slaughter. Thus Vālmiki explained *himsā* as wrath without provocation (Book III, canto 9, *śloka* 4). The expressions put into the mouth of Sītā in this canto may serve to bring out Vālmiki's position as to the import of *ahimsa*. Hearing that Rāma had pledged himself to slay the Rākṣasas, who continually disturbed the peaceful life of the hermits and were a constant source of terror to them, Sītā sought to dissuade her lord in these words :

“ Mayst thou, thus armed with shaft and bow,
So dire a longing never know
As, when no hatred prompts the fray,
 These giants of the wood to slay :
For he who kills without offence
Shall win but little glory thence.
 The bow the warrior joys to bend
 Is lent him for a nobler end.

* * * *

The noblest gain from virtue springs
 And virtue joy unending brings.
 All earthly blessings virtue sends ;
 On virtue all the work depends.”

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we feel throughout a deep religious sense of duty, right and justice, of which the tone is intensely moral, and devoid of all subtleties of *Ānvikaṣaki* or speculative philosophy. A good common sense runs through his poetry. He has nowhere taken notice of the views of speculative philosophy except in the single instance (Book II, canto 109) where Jābāla, pretending to be a Nāstika, tries to persuade Rāma to return to his father's capital with arguments drawn from a philosophy well-known as Cārvāka or demoniac. And in vehemently criticising and reproaching Jābāla, Rāma only voiced the feeling of the poet, who had no patience with the views of speculative philosophy, which were far remote from common sentiments of mankind and which discredited by sophistry and false logic all established social and religious institutions based upon common sense.

Another distinctive feature, which marks Vālmiki out as a Brāhmana jurist liberal in principle, is that he places everywhere the society above the individual. At the same time without disturbing the social order, he was ready to afford every scope for the free growth of the individual mind and character. Let us take two instances. First in the story of the R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, (Book I, cantos 9-10), Vālmiki is not sorry that the princess Śāntā tempted the hermit's son R̥ṣyaśṛṅga or that the latter being the son of a Brahmana sage agreed to marry a Kshatriya princess. He was liberal enough to allow the Kshatriya lady to participate in all that concerned her lord, even in the *homa* sacrifice. He did not hesitate to urge the sage Vibhandaka to greet his daughter-in-law, although of the warrior caste. But he compelled R̥ṣyaśṛṅga to undergo a rite of penance, because he had left the hermitage in his father's absence. Similarly in the case of Sita, Vālmiki had no objection that Sita, when rescued from Lāṅka, should go through the ordeal of fire, as a proof to society of unsullied honour. Rāma was satisfied and returned in

course of time with his lady to Ayodhyā, where they spent a few happy years. And when again she was banished at a most critical period of woman's life, in order that the people might be pleased, Sītā took counsel not to commit suicide thinking that patience was the greatest virtue of a woman and that it would have been rash on her part to kill herself with the future descendants, who would continue the line of Raghu. The poet was aware that there was a limit to patience, and when Sītā, being recalled by the general assembly of the people, was again asked to undergo the same fire-ordeal, the poet took up as it were the cause of Sītā; this time she must not submit, innocent and pure that she was, to the tyranny of the rule of the majority; and if the society did not appreciate goodness and was bent upon crushing a guileless creature, the poet argued that she must bid goodbye to this wicked world rather than submit to its base tyranny; that she must in such a case prove to the world by bravely facing death that soul ever triumphs over the body. She died, the mother earth opened up to receive in her bosom the dear child, the gods from heaven rained down flowers; and it was not till then that the foolish multitude appraised her for all she was worth, as in the parallel and more historical instance of the Prophet of Nazareth and the wise Socrates of Athens.

When Vālmiki turned an ascetic, and under what circumstances, it is difficult to say. It was probably following the usage of the time that he withdrew from the world at the third period to spend his closing years in the practice of penance and meditation. There is reason to believe that he built his hermitage in the vicinity of Kośala where, not far from the confluence of the Jamna and the Ganges, he conceived, developed and finished his epoch-making *Rāmāyaṇa*. He lived in a time when the different Brahmanical settlements had been scattered over the country between the Ganges and the Godavari, and one need not be surprised that he had

left the memoirs of his personal experiences in the vivid account of the wanderings of Rāma from the hill of Citrakūṭa, in the north, to Janasthāna (modern Nasik), to the south, about seventy-five miles to the north-west of Bombay. He was perhaps not acquainted with that great trade route extending from Kośala to Patitthāna, modern Paithan near the Godavary, nor with the Dakkhināpatha, of which an interesting account, with its main stopping places, is to be found in the prologue to a Buddhist canonical book of poems, the *Parāyaṇavagga*. He had no first-hand knowledge of the countries that lay to the south of the Godavari. He has broadly distinguished them as Kiṣkindhā and Lankā inhabited by two different races, the monkeys and the demons, differing in culture, character and religion. As, in the parallel instance of the Buddhist *Valahassa-jataka*, the women of Lankā are denounced in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as wanting in morality and female modesty. But as regards Kiṣkindhyā, Vālmīki recognises that her apish inhabitants had a strong political organisation, social order and Aryan faith. On the whole his description of Kiṣkindhā and Lankā is to be regarded in the light of the following remarks of Griffith :

“The people against whom Rāma waged war are, as the poem indicates in many places, different in origin, in civilisation, and in worship, from the Sanskrit Indians ; but the poet of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in this respect like Homer, who assigns to Troy customs, creeds and worship, similar to those of Greece, places in Ceylon.....names, habits, and worship similar to those of Sanskrit India.”

Thus the *Rāmāyaṇa* has sufficient indication that Vālmīki was a Brahmana jurist and ascetic, whose life was spent within the city walls and the far-off hermitage, the two foci of the ellipse in which his whole life moved. His poem, though wanting in the details of the daily life of Indian people at large, preserves a true picture of Indian life at its best. How long he lived none can tell, but he did not live in vain, and

surely lived long enough to enjoy that rightly won fame
predicted by Brahmā in these words :—

“ As long as in these firm set land
The stream shall flow, the mountains stand,
So long throughout the world, be sure,
The great Rāmāyaṇ shall endure.
While the Rāmāyaṇ’s ancient strain
Shall glorious in the earth remain,
To higher spheres shalt thou arise
And dwell with me above the skies.”

A MYSTERIOUS COINCIDENCE IN THE HISTORY OF THE MAHOMEDAN WORLD.

KALICHBEG F. MIRZA,

Retired Deputy Collector, Hyderabad (Sindh).

According to the Philosophy of Pythagoras, number is the essence of everything that exists in the universe. Again, in accordance with the Pythagorean theory of opposites, numbers may be good or evil, straight or crooked, bright or dark, at rest or in motion, right or left, square or oblong, one or many, odd or even, limited or unlimited and masculine or feminine. The perfect union of these ten "pairs of opposites", constitutes what is called "harmony".

The oriental philosophy of numbers is chiefly based on this Pythagorean philosophy, and according to it some numbers are lucky and some unlucky. The mysterious Arabian science of *Jafr* (used in making amulets and charms) is based on this mystic property of numbers. According to this the number *six* is very unlucky, as it comes between five and seven, both of which are lucky.

The peculiarity of this number six is that it is universally supposed to indicate death, danger, violence, distress and confusion, in short misfortune of every kind. According to the Bible and the Koran, the world was made in six days. There are six directions or cardinal points in all—north, south, east, west, zenith and nadir. The world is called *serāi-shāshdar* (a six-doored inn) in Persian. There are six planets revolving round the Sun, according to the ancient astronomers. Of these the sixth, or Saturn, is regarded as extremely unlucky and is therefore called the "bloody star". According to Mahomedans there have been six great Prophets in the world, viz., Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and

Muhammed. All these points are regarded as the signs of the universality of number six.

The Persian phrases *shash-panj* (five and six) and *shashdar* (six doors) connote distress and confusion. The Sindhi phrases *chakko*, *chak paḍn* and *shashdar* mean the same thing. The English phrase "to be at sixes and sevens" also indicates disorder. And a person having six fingers and six toes is also considered unlucky, at least by oriental people.

The six follies of science are well-known, to which from time immemorial high intellects have applied themselves in vain, and which are always believed to be impossible or next to impossible. They are (1) the quadrature of the circle, (2) the multiplication of the cube, (3) the perpetual motion, (4) the philosopher's stone, (5) magic and (6) judicial astrology.

There are six schools of Indian philosophy, viz., Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta. There are also six types of Indian music and each again has six minor divisions,—the six *rāgas* and thirty-six *rāginis*.

From the early days of Christianity, I mean in the Apostolic age, not only the number six, or six units were considered bad and unlucky, but six tens and six hundreds also; and 666 was the worst number possible in the world, as it represented Anti-Christ. It is the numerical value of the name, if written in Hebrew, of the Roman Emperor Nero, who had instituted a persecution of the Christians, and for that reason he was believed by many Christians to be the Anti-Christ of the Apocalypse returned to life, for, it was written therein, that the Anti-Christ would be an emperor, who had reigned once already and the whole wickedness of the world or of the Roman Empire, which represented the beast, was concentrated or embodied in him.¹

There is a well-known couplet in Persian, which says that a parricide is not fit to be a king, but if ever he happens

¹ A similar idea was started at the beginning of the Great War with regard to the German Emperor, Wilhelm II

to be a king, he will not last longer than six months. Some instances where this couplet was justified may be quoted. The Persian king Khusro Parviz, the well-known lover of Shirin and the rival of Farhād, was killed by his son Shiruyeh, who succeeded him, and who died of the plague, exactly six months later. Another instance is that of Mirza Ulughbeg, the Tartar king in the 9th century, who was killed by his son Abdul Latif, who succeeded him. This Abdul Latif was himself killed by his younger brother Abdul Aziz exactly six months later.

A few years back when I started writing the history of Sindh, I noted accidentally that every sixth ruler of that province, from amongst the different dynasties of Mahomedan rulers, had either been deposed or murdered or had voluntarily abdicated or had resigned the throne or had proved to be the last of the house to which he belonged. This was the case not merely with the first sixth ruler, but with every other sixth after him too, i.e., the 12th, 18th, 24th, etc., if the dynasty continued so long.

At first I took this to be only an accident in the case of the last two dynasties of the rulers of Sindh, viz., the Kaloras and the Talpurs. But subsequently I found it to be applicable to all, from the very beginning of recorded history. In view of the evil propensities attributed to the number six alluded to above, I noticed that this number was unlucky for kings in general, and that it had proved unlucky for Mahomedan kings in particular, but I could not account for it. Reading the histories of other Mahomedan countries I observed that this mysterious coincidence had already been noted by some earlier writers in other parts of the world as well, and of course, no sensible explanation could be found for it. Lord Lytton's observation in his *Strange Story* seems to me to be the only reasonable explanation of this. He says: "Be my readers few or many, there will be no small proportion of them, to whom, once at least in the course of their existence, a something strange and mysterious has

occurred, a something, which has perplexed and baffled rational conjecture, and struck on those chords which vibrate to superstition, ..phenomena, which are not to be solved by wit that mocks them, nor, perhaps always and entirely to the contentment of the reason or the philosophy that explains them away. Such phenomena, I say, are infinitely more numerous than would appear from the instances currently quoted and dismissed with a jest. . .But he who reads my assertions in the quiet of his own room, will perhaps pause, ransack his memory and find there...a pale recollection that proves the assertion not untrue”.

I leave this point for consideration and solution by my learned readers and begin to state the historical facts which prove that the number six is unlucky. I shall first take Sindh, then India, and then the other Mahomedan kingdoms.

Mahomedanism appeared in the seventh century of the Christian era. In India it first came to Sindh, which was conquered by Muhammed bin Kasim in A.H. 92 (A.D. 710), and the Hindu rule was overthrown. That event occurred in the reign of Khalif Walid bin Abdul Malik Merwan of the Umeiyyad dynasty. From that time agents or lieutenants of the Khalifs used to rule over Sindh. When Sindh was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate, the viceroys of the emperors used to come and rule Sindh, as their Nawabs or Subahdars. Some of the Delhi Emperors had personally come to Sind, and the most celebrated of them, Akbar the Great, was born at Amarkot, in Sindh. In this way, Sindh was ruled at first by the Khalifs of the Arabian Empire, and then by of the Indian Sultans at Delhi.

Ali, the fourth Khalif of Islam, or the fifth head of the Islamic world counting from the Prophet, was succeeded by his elder son Imam Hasan, who was thus the sixth from the Prophet, and he was obliged to abdicate in favour of Muawiyeh, the head of the Umeiyyad „dynasty and was himself subsequently killed by poison.

The sixth Khalif after Muawiyeh, was Abdullah bin Zubeir, who was killed in a battle by Hajjaj bin Yusuf and Walid bin Abdul Malik Merwan, who was the nephew and son-in-law of Hajjaj, became the Khalif, in whose time Sindh was conquered by Arabs under Muhammed bin Kasim, and since then the agents of these Khalifs were rulers in Sindh. The next sixth, or the 12th Khalif, was Walid bin Yazid, who was dethroned and subsequently killed. After him there were only three Khalifs more, the last being Merwan, known as Al-Himar or "the Donkey".

Then came the Abbaside dynasty of Khalifs, of whom Saffah was the first, and the sixth after him was Amin bin Harun al Rashid, who fought with his brother Ma'mun and was killed and succeeded by him. The next sixth, or the 12th Khalif, was Mustain Billah, who was deposed and subsequently murdered and was succeeded by Mutaiz Billah. The next sixth again, or the 18th, was Muktaadir, who was killed by his own Vazir and Kadir succeeded him. The next sixth, or the 24th, was Rashid, who was killed by Sultan Sanjar, and was succeeded by Muktazi. The next sixth still, or the 30th, was Mustasim, who proved to be the last Abbaside Khalif and was treacherously killed by his own Vazir, which event was followed by a general slaughter at Baghdad, the capital town of Khalifs.

Then commenced the rule of the kings of Delhi in Sindh, beginning with the Ghaznavi dynasty, and their agents came to rule that province. The founder of the line was Alaptagin, the grand-father of the celebrated Mahmud Subuktagin, whose son Masud was the sixth king of that line, who was deposed by the army and subsequently put to death and his son Maodud was placed on the throne. The next sixth again was Arslanshah, who, on the death of his father Masud II., imprisoned his brothers and usurped the throne, but Sultan Sanjar Saljuki removed him by force and put his brother Bahram on the throne. After, three more kings, this line

ended, and the Ghorî dynasty commenced, of which there were only five kings.

Next came the Slave kings of Delhi, beginning with Kutubuddin Eibak, and the sixth after him was Muizzuddin Bahramshah, who was deposed. After four more kings that line ended and that of Khiljî commenced, with only three kings in it.

Then followed the Toghlaq dynasty. Although Ghayasuddin was the founder of that dynasty it was really his son Muhammed Toghlaq who ruled the kingdom regularly. The sixth after him was Mahmud, who proved to be the last of the line and, owing to the invasion of Tamerlane, Sindh became once again independent.

After the agents of the kings of Delhi came the rule of Sumrahs in Sindh. According to the *Tarikh Maasume*, although it was Sumrah, who declared his independence, his son Bhunger became the actual Chief of his tribe and was succeeded one after the other by Dado, Saughar, Dadu, Phattu, Khaira and Armel. This last, the sixth ruler of the Sumrahs, was a cruel-hearted despot. Therefore a revolt was led against him by the tribe of Sammah, he was killed with his ministers and his head was exposed on the top of the fort-gate.

The Sammahs now set up their rule : the head of that tribe was Unar and after him his brother and his son succeeded to power ; but the latter was taken away a prisoner to Delhi by Sultan Alauddin. After that event the Sammah rule commenced regularly with the title of "Jam" for the ruler, and Jam Babinah, another son of Unar became the ruler of Sindh. The sixth ruler after Babinah was Jam Nizamuddin, in whose reign his cousins conspired against him and he was obliged to take refuge in Gujarat, where he died and was succeeded by Jam Alisher. The next sixth or the 12th ruler, was Jam Raino, and he was killed by poison by his courtier Saujar, who became Jam himself. After him there were only two more Jams, the last being Jam Firuz, and the Sammah dynasty was displaced by the Arghun or Tarkhan Mughals.

Shahbeg and his son Shah Hasan Arghun were succeeded by Mirza Isa Tarkhan, and the sixth ruler from Shahbeg was Mirza Ghazibeg, who was murdered by his servant and the dynasty ended with him.

Then commenced the rule of Subahdars or the viceroys of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi.

The house of Timur or the Mughal dynasty, was founded by Baber. The sixth from him (counting Shershah) was Shah Jehan, who was deposed by his son Aurungzib and imprisoned. The next sixth, or the 12th, was Rafiuddaulah, who was killed by poison by the Sayyads. The next sixth again, or the 18th, was Bahadurshah II., better known as the poet Zafer, who proved to be the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi and was taken prisoner by the English.

The last of the Subahdars of Sindh under the Mughal rule was Mian Yar Muhammad, who became the first Kalhora ruler of Sindh.

The sixth ruler of the Kalhora dynasty, after Mian Yar Muhammad, was Mian Muhammad Sarfaraz, who was defeated by the Talpur Balochis and dethroned, and his brother Mahmud Khan was placed on the throne. Then came five rulers more of the Kalhora family, the last being Abdunnabi.

Next came the rule of Talpur Balochis, or the Amirs of Sindh, the first of whom was Mir Fatehali Khan, and the sixth after him was Mir Nasir Khan, who was defeated at Miani in 1843, by Sir Charles Napier, and the rule of the English commenced in Sindh.

In the Khairpur family of Sindh, there have been only five rulers yet, H. H. Mir Imambakhsh Khan, the present ruler, being the fifth.

Of the kings of Oudh, the first was Burhanulmulk Saadat Khan, and the sixth from him was Alikhan, who was killed by poison and was succeeded by Saadat Khan II. The next sixth, or the 12th, was Wajid Ali Shah, who proved to be the last

king and was deposed by the British Government and Oudh was annexed to the British Empire.

Let us now take the Moslem States of the Deccan.

The first of the Bahmani kings of Gulbarga in Deccan, was Sultan Alauddin, and the sixth from him was Ghayasuddin, who was murdered by his slave, Taghalchin, and was succeeded by Shamsuddin. The next sixth, or the 12th, was Sultan Nizamshah, who is said to have died a natural death but it is suspected that he was poisoned. The next sixth again, or the 18th, was Kalimullah, who proved to be the last of the family.

In the state of Bijapur, the first king of the Adilshahi dynasty was Yusuf Adilshah, and the sixth from him was Ibrahim Adilshah II., who proved to be the last of the line.

In Ahmednagar, the first king of the Nizamshahi family was Ahmedshah, and the sixth was Ismailshah, who was killed by poison. Then after four kings more the family ended.

In the State of Bidar, the sixth of the Bahadurshahi family was Kasim Barid, who proved to be the last of the line and the family ended.

Of the Nizam's dynasty of Hyderabad, the first was Abid Khan, better known as Kalich Khan, and the sixth after him, was Salabat Jang, who was deposed by Ahmedshah; Nizamali Khan succeeded him and from him the fifth is ruling there at present.

Among the other states of Hindustan, in the State of Jaunpur, the first king was Khwajah Jehan and the sixth after him was Hussain Shah who was the last of the line and the family ended.

There remains the State of Malwa to consider the first king of which was Dilawarshah Ghorî, and the sixth after him was Nasiruddin Khiliji, with whom that kingdom ended.

We shall now leave Hindustan to go to other parts of the Mahomedan world. First we shall speak of the four dynasties of Egypt.

1. After the fall of the Arab Empire at Bagdad, the Abbaside dynasty moved to Egypt and the first Khalif there

was Mustansir and the sixth from him was Mutawakkil, who was twice deposed and finally imprisoned.

2. Of the Turkish slave kings of Egypt, the first was Malik Muiz Eibak, and the sixth from him was Malik Adil, who was deposed after four months and the line ended.

3. Of the Kalaoniah dynasty of Egypt, the first king was Malik Mansur, and the sixth from him was Malik Muzaffar who was murdered and succeeded by Malik Mansur II. The next sixth, or the 12th, was Muzaffar Haji, who was also murdered and succeeded by Malik Nasir Hasan. The next sixth again, or the 18th, was Malik Salih Haji, who abdicated the throne and the house ended, the family of Charkas, coming in its place.

4. Of this Charkas family of Egypt, the first king was Malik Taher, and the sixth after him was Malik Zahir, who was killed after a reign of three months, and was succeeded by Malik Salih. The next sixth, or the 12th, was Malik Ashraf who was killed by poison and was succeeded by Mawayyid. The sixth from him again, or the 18th, was Malik Nasir, who was murdered and was succeeded by Malik Ashraf II. Again the next sixth after him, or the 24th, was Malik Ashraf III., who was the last king of the Charkas family and Egypt thereafter passed under the Ottoman Empire.

Let us now take up the Ottoman Empire of Constantinople. The first Emperor was Sultan Othman and the sixth from him was Sultan Murad III., who is suspected of having been poisoned. The sixth again, or the 12th, was Sultan Ibrahim, who was deposed and was succeeded by Muhammed IV. The next sixth, or the 18th, was Sultan Mahmud Khan, who was defeated and deposed by Nadirshah, and Sultan Othman III., succeeded him. The next sixth again, or the 24th, was Sultan Mahmud II., who was deposed by the army and Sultan Abdul Majid Khān was put in his place. Again the next sixth, or 30th is Sultan Muhammed V., who is still on the throne and under whom the Turkish Empire has suffered so grievously during the Great War.

Of the Arab Khalifs of Spain, the first was Abdullah bin Hasham, and the sixth after him was Munzir, who was murdered by his own brother Abdullah and he proved to be the last of the line.

Of the Taherieh dynasty, the first was Taher bin Hussain and the sixth after him was Muhammed bin Taher, who was the last king of the line.

Of the Ismailiyeh or Alawiyeh dynasty, the first was Muhammed Mahdi, and the sixth from him was Hakim Billah, who was murdered by his own sister and was succeeded by his son Zahir. The next sixth, or the 12th, was Zafir, who was murdered by his own Vazir. The next sixth again, or the 18th, was Azid with whom the line ended.

Of the Saljuk Atabek dynasty of Syria or Mesopotamia, the first was Imaduddin, and the sixth from him was Saifuddin, who was poisoned. After him only three kings reigned, the last being Arslan.

Of the kings of Nimroz, the first was Malik Tajuddin, and the sixth after him was Malik Ruknuddin, who was defeated by Tartars and deposed.

Of the kings of Kirman, the first was Ruknuddin and the sixth after him was Sultan Muzaffaruddin, who was the last king of the line.

There remains now Persia to consider. Of the Safavi kings of Persia, the first was Shah Ismail and the sixth after him was Shah Ismail III., who was a nominal king only because the Government was carried on by others. The sixth after him was Shah Tahmasp III., who proved to be the last of the line.

Then followed the Kajar family, of which the fifth king is on the throne at present.

Thus it will be seen that in the Mahomedan Kingdoms or States, throughout the world, the sixth king of almost every dynasty or every sixth after him has died a violent death, or has otherwise lost the throne or has been the last of his line. There are hardly one or two exceptions. Let the readers consider the fact and try to solve the riddle.

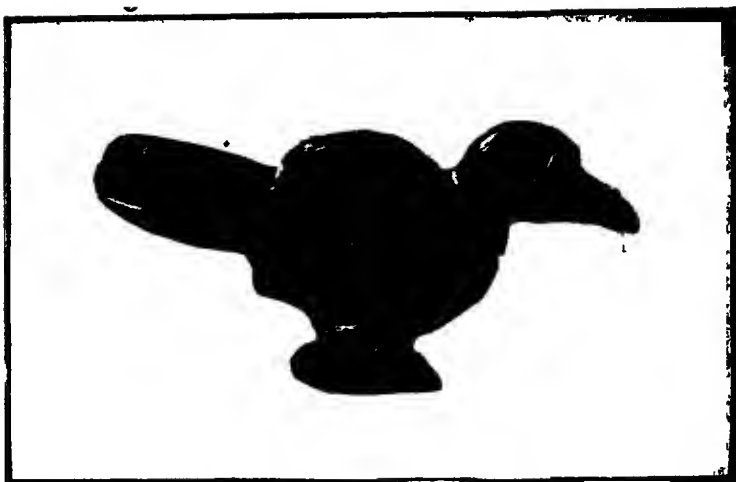


Fig 1. Bird in red conchahon



Fig. 2. Female figure.



Fig. 3. Dancing female figure

THE PIPRAWA RELICS—PLATE I.

THE PIPRAWA RELICS

ARUN SEN, B.A.,

Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, University of Calcutta.

The Piprawa relics were rescued from their dusty entombment decades ago, but they were consigned to an undeserved oblivion immediately after. In this paper, I shall resuscitate them and draw certain conclusions therefrom.

The artisans who carved the various precious stones into countless shapes were unquestionably very able craftsmen. They betray not only accurate powers of observation but also a very high degree of technical skill.

First of all, let us examine the rosettes or lilies. They have been wrought in different stones of varying consistencies, they are not in uniform shapes. Some of them are elementarily flat, others are hollow in the centre, others again are concave (the cavity being gradual); in some the leaves are crumpled in, in others crumpled out, and they are of varying thickness. Then there are leaves also wrought in divergent shapes, some flat, some with lines (one or two) in the centre, to make the stalk, others have their edges scratched.

Other ornaments also show a large variety of forms;—there is the shovel ornament with a groove in the centre, the *triratna* and various geometrical designs.

There are birds too, one in metal, the other in red cornelian (Plate I, fig. 1). The latter is carved with remarkable skill and the details, the bill and the feathers are worked with delicate minuteness. There is also an elephant in gold leaf.

The above are wrought in various stones, cornelian white or red amethyst, topaz, garnet, coral and crystal, shell and also metal. It will thus be seen that the craftsmen had

already mastered a large number of materials and commanded an exquisite skill. They had thus the requisite instruments to deal with the various stones together with the necessary skill.

It might be argued that the Piprawa artisans were dexterous lapidaries, but they had not learnt the art of carving in stone. The massive coffer (Plate II) however still stands to refute such flimsy conclusions. It is made out of a huge monolith in grey sandstone; there were clamps behind to fix the lid to the base. The *ensemble* bespeaks the highest quality of craftsmanship. It is rectangular in design and of enormous weight. The edges are perfect the sides immaculately straight, the clamps perfect in their curves.

Then I pass on to the smaller vessels, which have been tortured into the most delicate forms. There are vessels *lotās* (Plate III, *a, b, d, e*), with a round base, a bulge in the centre with two concentric lines round it, a narrow neck, a top with three layers one above another. There are other shapes too. It will thus be clearly seen that the craftsmen could evolve not only rectangular but also much more intricate shapes in stone.

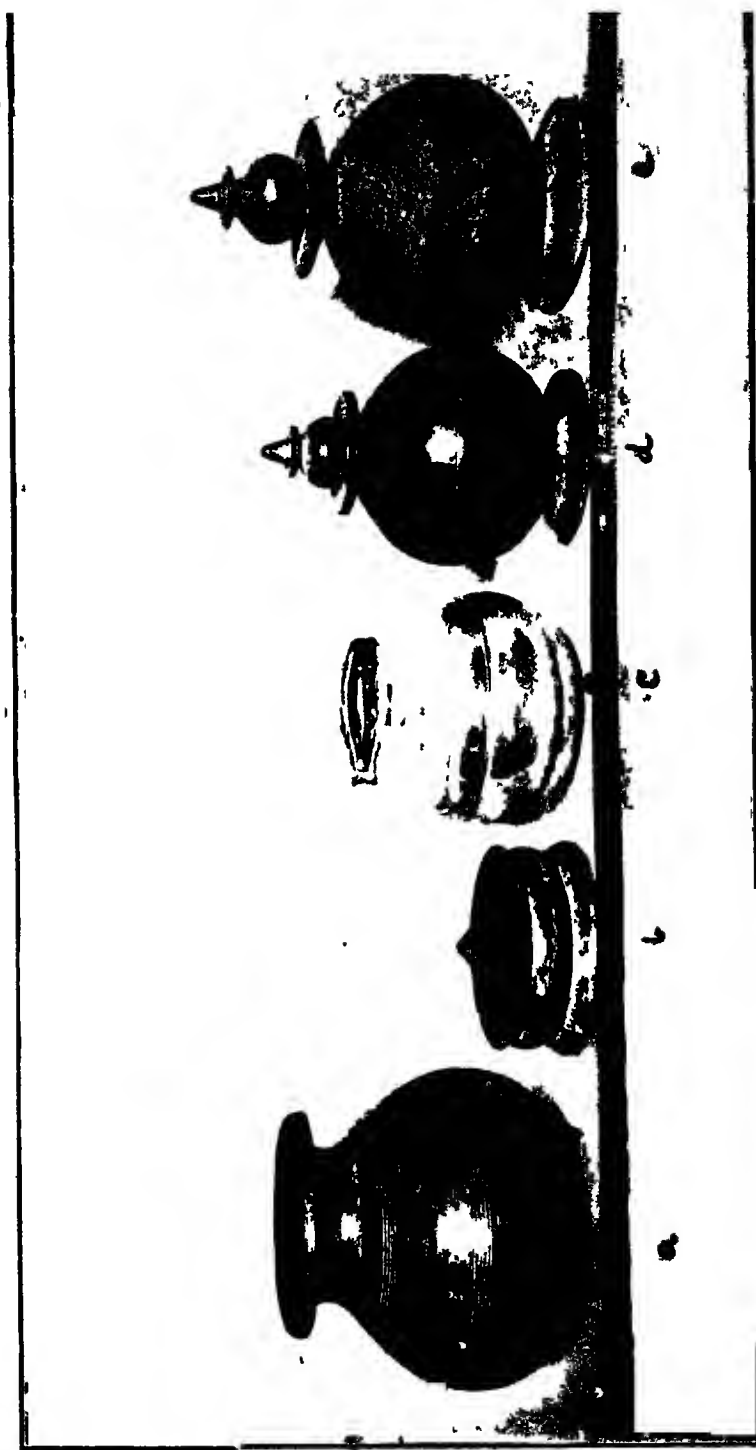
I may at this stage mention the crystal bowl (Plate III, *c*), with the fish-ornament on top. The fins are drawn with perfect accuracy, the lines in the middle being the broadest. The craftsmen were evidently not entirely unacquainted with perspective.

Thus in India, intricate forms could be wrought in stone as well as in other materials. Lastly the designs on gold leaf clearly prove that artists could even thus reproduce the human form. These might be all examined in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and I would request the student to examine these (as well as the other relics) under a strong magnifying glass.

The first human figure (Plate I, fig. 2) shows strange characteristics. All the characteristics, which European



MONOLITHIC STONE COFFIN



BOWL, LOTĀ AND OTHER VESSELS.

THE PIPRAVA RELICS—PLATE III.

archæologists fondly ascribed to the late Gupta of the early mediæval period, are here visible;—broad hips, exaggerated breasts, attenuated waist. Even the lines on the waist are shown; the feet taper disproportionately. The head is distinctly on one side, the eyes are elongated. There is also the characteristically undulating veil. Thus the female figure, which according to our scholars, suddenly sprang into existence in a fully developed form in mediæval times, which, they fondly imagine, was the first aberration from the sublime Hellenic type and which consequently gave the first indication of the victory of Barbarism over Beauty, is seen in Piprawa, several centuries before the Christian era.

The conjectures are confirmed in the next female figure depicted (Plate I, fig. 3).¹ It is that of a woman in the ecstasy of a dance. She is clothed round her hips, the upper part of her body being bare. Of her hands, one is raised up, the other down. The feet are turned up, there are the exaggerated breasts and hips with a halo round the face and a diadem on the head. The drapery is striped and the stripes converge (in accordance with the laws of perspective).

These figures are not frontal, and the side fronts are depicted with remarkable ease. Thus the human figures in difficult poses were not quite undreamt of in India, four centuries before Christ. The idea of form had already dawned on the Indian mind and they had already learnt the art of working in stone. It is an æsthetic axiom that when these two conditions co-exist, sculpture springs up. It would not therefore be surprising if sculpture did indeed exist at that period.

Lastly the artists had succeeded in depicting the human figure (even in the contortions of a dance) and displayed certain characteristic features. If these two figures are compared with the graven image of a female in gold (Plate I, fig. 3), which is to be found in the same case in the Indian Museum (called "the image of Prthvi") the similarity will be easily

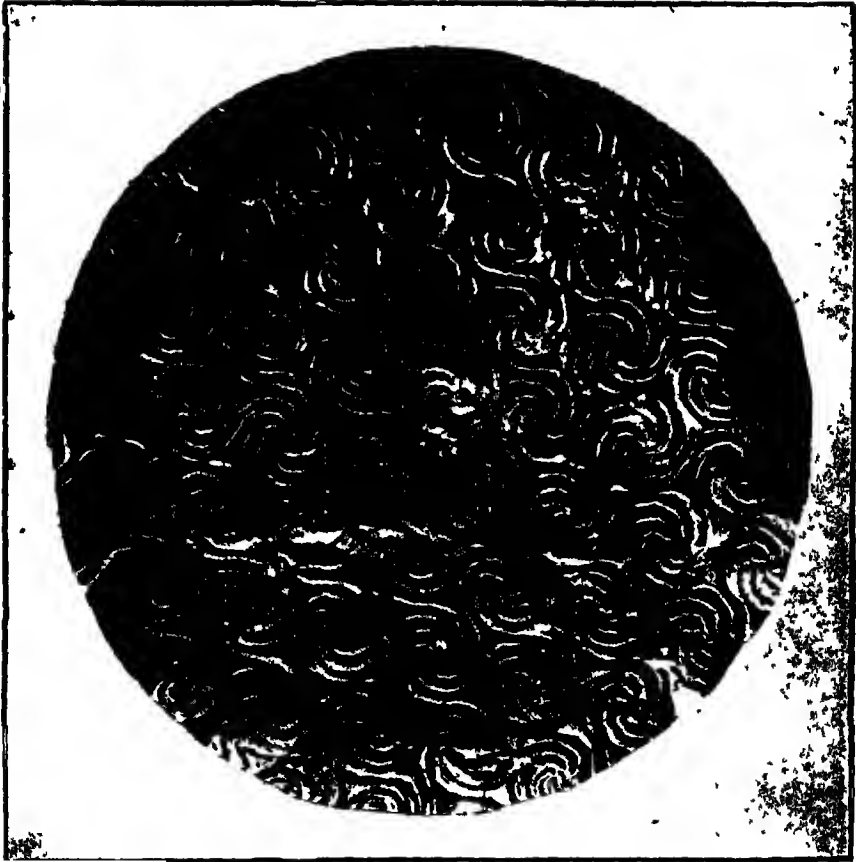
¹ No. 5566, Indian Museum.

detected. The latter is prehistoric. In this connection, I may observe that there is also a decoration in gold leaf with flowing lines, a typical neolithic design (Plate IV).

The conclusions to be drawn are :

(1) There must have been stone sculpture in the Piprawa age at least.

(2) The link is clearly seen between the prehistoric ages, the pre-Mauryan, and the mediæval.



Decorative design in gold leaf

THE PIPRAWA RELICS—PLATE IV.

WAS STATE-SOCIALISM KNOWN IN ANCIENT INDIA?

(A STUDY IN KAUTILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA.)

HEMCHANDRA RAY, M.A.,

Lecturer in Ancient Indian History, University of Calcutta.

The ideal State depicted by Kauṭilya is far from one of *laissez faire* and the functions of such a State do not consist simply in protecting the personal freedom and property of the individual. In the incessant struggle with nature, misery, weakness and poverty the individual is not left to himself. On the contrary the State actively interferes in nearly every sphere of life, political, social and economical. The policy recommended in the *Kauṭilya* seems to contain many evident elements of the modern ideas of state-socialism which have so profoundly affected the legislation of Europe during the last twenty-five years. The state control of land and capital, labour and industries, nationalisation of mines, state ownership and management of industries, provision of subsistence by the State for those who cannot make a living, and of labour for those who are out of employment, are some of the more important points in modern state-socialism and it will be my attempt to draw the attention of scholars to some of them which appear to be contained in the *Arthaśāstra* for a fuller and better treatment which the importance of the subject demands. In the fact that none has yet made any systematic attempt to study Kauṭilya from this standpoint, lies perhaps the only justification for my present attempt.

Land being the most important agent of production, we shall take it first and try to analyse the policy of the State in Kauṭilya with regard to it. Land here we shall

take to mean not only agricultural land, but as economists understand it, i.e. all the materials and forces which nature gives freely for man's use in land and water; in air and light and heat.¹

In *Kauṭilya* we find the State actively participating in the formation of new colonies, i.e. of villages and towns by providing suitable outlets for the emigration of the people from the thickly populated centres of the country (स्वदेशामिच्छन्वसनेन)² or by inducing foreigners to immigrate (परदेशापवाहनेन).³ The agricultural lands in these new settlements were owned by the state and disposed of in three different manners. These lands were allotted to taxpayers (*karada*) only for life (*ekapurusaikāni*). A strict control was kept over these land-holders and their lands were liable to be confiscated and given to others if they failed to cultivate them properly; but in cases of good cultivation they were provided with grains, cattle and money. These lands were also sometimes cultivated by the village menials of the State (*grāmabhṛtakas*)⁴ or leased out to traders (*vaidehakas*). What control the State had on lands other than these we do not know positively. But in this connection it might be interesting to note a couplet quoted by Bhaṭṭa-svāmin the commentator of *Kauṭilya*. It is of far-reaching political significance and runs as follows :

“Those who are well versed in the *Sāstras* admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all other things excepting these two.”⁵

Unless mentioned otherwise, all references are from the 2nd edition of the Sanskrit Text, and the translation referred to is that of Shamsastry.

¹ Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, (7th ed.), p. 183.

² P. 45.

³ Ibid, loc. cit.

⁴ *grāmabhṛtakas* is translated by E. Shamsastry as “village labourer” at p. 52 of his English translation. But on p. 309 in the chapter concerning “subsistence to Government servants” (*bhṛtyabharaṇīyam*), the pay of a *grāmabhṛtaka* is laid down as 500 *paṇas* (*pañcaśata*). From this it seems more probable that they were servants of the State.

⁵ Trans., p. 144.

As regards mines the idea of Kautilya is:

अग्निभ्यो द्वादशविधं धातुं पक्षं च संहरत् ।
एवं सर्वेषु पक्षेषु स्थापयेन्मुखसंयमम् ॥⁶

The government shall keep as a state monopoly both mining and commerce (in minerals).^{6a}

With this general statement the author further suggests that such mines which can be worked without much outlay shall be directly exploited by government agency, while all those which require larger outlay to work may be leased out for a fixed proportionate share of the output or for a fixed rent.⁷ Evidently the mines were worked in three different ways, viz. those that were directly worked by the State, those that were worked by the joint co-operation of the State and other private companies and thirdly those which were worked purely by private enterprise. But though the working was different the ownership of the mines was unquestionably vested in the State alone. Any person carrying on mining operations without government license was "bound with chains and caused to work as a prisoner."⁸

The State in *Kautiliya* also exercised its right of ownership (*svāmyam*) with regard to fishing, ferrying and vegetables in all lakes and reservoirs:—

महाराजकथितपश्यानां चेतुषु राजा स्वाम्यं गच्छेत् ।

"The king shall exercise his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying and trading in vegetables in reservoirs or lakes."⁹

The forests of the country also clearly seem to have been owned and controlled by the government. There is a chapter

⁶ Trans., p. 85.

^{6a} Trans., p. 100.

⁷ P. 84; Trans., p. 97.

⁸ P. 83; Trans., p. 97.

⁹ P. 47; Trans., p. 53.

in *Kauṭīliya* entitled *Kupyādhyaḥśa*, of which only a cursory study would lead to this conclusion.¹⁰

Thus we see that in its "land policy" the State of Kauṭīliya follows a distinctly socialistic programme owning all the most important gifts of nature, such as agricultural land (at least in the new *janapadas*), the mines and the forests. About the agricultural lands other than those in the newly colonised portions of the country, Kauṭīliya makes no definite statement. It is probable, as I have remarked, that private ownership might have prevailed in them, the State not being willing to disturb the vested interests there. The commentary quoted is of uncertain date and allows us to draw no sure conclusions.

We shall now turn our attention to production and manufacture. Let us in the first place see whether the State of Kauṭīliya viewed agriculture at all in its industrial aspect and what part, if any, it played in its development. The government in the *Kauṭīliya* owned various industries and managed them by the creation of different *Adhyaḥśas*, or 'superintendents' as Mr. R. Shamsastry translates the word. Thus we have got the *Sītādhyaḥśa* or the Superintendent of Agriculture. Over and above his general duties of supervision of agriculture, irrigation and manuring in all parts of the country, he had the special duty of cultivating the state-owned agricultural lands "by the employment of slaves, labourers and prisoners." The machinery and livestock necessary was also owned and supplied by the State.

बहुसकपरिक्षायां स्वभूमौ दासकर्मकरदण्डप्रतिकर्तृभिर्वापयेत् । कर्षण-
यन्त्रोपकरणबलीवर्द्धेषामसङ्गं कारयेत् । कारुभिश्च कर्मारकुशकर्मदकरजु-
वर्तकसर्पपाहादिभिश्च । तेषां कर्मफलविनिपाते तत्फलहारं दण्डः ।

"He shall employ slaves, labourers and prisoners (*danda-pratikartṛ*) to sow the seeds on crown-lands which have been often and satisfactorily ploughed." The work of the above men shall not suffer on account of any want in ploughs

¹⁰ P. 99; Trans., p. 121.

(*karṣaṇayantra*) or other necessary instruments or of bullocks. Nor shall there be any delay in procuring to them the assistance of blacksmiths, carpenters, borers (*medaka*), rope-makers, as well as of those who catch snakes and of similar persons. Any loss done to the above persons shall be punished with a fine equal to the loss.”¹¹

The manufacture of metals and other mine produce was under the charge of several *Adhyakṣas*. The *Lohādhyakṣa* or the Superintendent of Metals was entrusted with the extraction of the metals and their manufacture.

ताम्रसीसवपुवेकन्तकारकूटवृत्तकंसताललोभकर्मन्तं कारयेत् । लोहभाण्ड-
व्यवहारश्च ।

“The superintendent of metals shall carry on the manufacture of copper, lead, tin, *vaikṛntaka* (mercury ?), brass, *vṛtta* (?), bronze (or bell-metal), sulphurate of arsenic, and *lodhra* (?) and also of commodities (*bhāṇḍa*) from them.”¹²

The duty of the *Khanyādhyakṣa* (superintendent of ocean-mines) was:—

शङ्खवज्रमणिमुक्ताप्रवालचारकर्मन्तान् कारयेत् पण्यव्यवहारं च ।

“The superintendent of ocean mines shall attend to the collection of conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, corals and salt, and also regulate the commerce in the above commodities.”¹³

There were two other superintendents—the *Suvarṇādhyakṣa* and the *Lakṣaṇādhyakṣa*. The former was in charge of the manufacture of jewellery from gold, silver and other valuable metals, while the latter manufactured silver (*rūpyarūpa*), copper (*tāmrarūpa*) and other coins. Any person manufacturing gold or silver articles in any place other than the royal mint or without being noticed by the state goldsmith, was fined.¹⁴

¹¹ P. 115 Trans., pp 142-43

¹² P. 84, Trans., p. 98.

¹³ P. 84, Trans., p. 99.

¹⁴ P. 90.

It also appears from the following passage that not only the commerce in commodities manufactured from mineral products but also the manufacture of mineral goods was centralised (*ekamukham*). Punishments were inflicted on those who carried on the industry outside the prescribed locality ;

कृतभाष्यव्यवहारमेकमुत्तमत्वं चान्यत्र कर्तृकेद्विकेवृणां स्थापयेत् ।

“Commerce in commodities manufactured from mineral products shall be centralised and punishments for manufacturers, sellers and purchasers of such commodities outside the prescribed locality shall also be laid down.”¹⁵

A government monopoly seems also to have existed over salt and persons other than hermits manufacturing salt without government license were prosecuted ; adulteration of salt was also punished with the highest amercement and all salts and alkalies, with a few exceptions in the case of *śrotriyas* and labourers, were subject to the payment of toll. Thus it is laid down :—

विसृज्यसुप्तं दण्डं दद्यात् अनिष्टष्टोपजीवि च अन्यत्र वानप्रस्थेभ्यः ।
श्रोत्रियास्तपस्विनो विष्टयश्च भक्तलवणं हरयुः । अतः अन्यो लवणद्वारवर्गः
युक्तं दद्यात् ।

“Adulteration of salt shall be punished with the highest amercement ; likewise persons other than hermits manufacturing salt without license. Men learned in the Vedas, persons engaged in penance, as well as labourers may take with them salt for food ; salt and alkalies for purposes other than these shall be subject to the payment of toll.”¹⁶

We have already noted that the forests were owned by the State. The *Kupyādhyakṣa* or the superintendent of forest-produce was in charge of all industries concerned with the forests. He collected the timber and other products of the forests and started productive works to manufacture all kinds

¹⁵ P. 83 ; Trans., p. 97.

¹⁶ Pp. 84-85, Trans., p. 99

of articles which are necessary for ordinary life or for the defence of the forts. These manufactories were state-owned and directly worked by the state officials. They were established either within the forests themselves¹⁷ or inside or outside the capital city. The author remarks :—

बहिरन्तश्च कर्षान्ता विभक्ताः सर्वभाण्डिकाः ।

आजीव पुररक्षार्थं कार्याः कुप्योपजीविना ॥

“The superintendent of forest produce shall conduct timber and other products of forests by employing those who guard productive forests. He shall not only start productive works in forests, but also fix adequate fines and compensations to be levied from those who cause any damage to productive forests except in calamities.”¹⁸

The *Sūrādhyakṣa* or the superintendent of liquor carried on “the manufacture of liquor and ferments by employing persons experienced in these industries and carried on liquor traffic not only in forts but also in camps.”¹⁹ The *Koṣṭhāgārādhyakṣa* (superintendent of store-house) was in charge of “manufactures from all sorts of agricultural produce such as the manufacture of flour, oil and sugar; the husking, dividing and pounding of rice, pulses etc.”²⁰

The *Sūtrādhyakṣa* was in charge of the weaving establishments and manufactured threads, coats and ropes.²¹ The *Paulādhyakṣa* prepared and standardised all sorts of weights and the state seems to have had a monopoly in these articles. This appears to have been the case from the following passage :—

तुलाप्रतिमानभाण्डं पीतवहस्तात् क्रीचीयुः । अथवा हादमण्डो दण्डः ।

¹⁷ P. 99.

¹⁸ P. 101, Trans., p. 121.

¹⁹ P. 119; Trans., p. 14.

²⁰ P. 94.

²¹ P. 113.

“ Weighing balance and counter-weights shall be purchased from the superintendent in charge of them. Otherwise a fine of twelve *panas* shall be imposed.”²²

Over and above these state-owned and state-managed industries there were others in which the state became a joint partner. Thus mines which could only be worked by a large outlay were perhaps exploited by such joint enterprises (*bhāgena vā dadyāt*).²³ Productive associations with state credit was one of the plans of Lassalle, but here we see the Kautilyan state far surpassing that programme and actually carrying on vast industrial and manufacturing organisations of its own. We shall conclude this part with the following lines from our author, which not only support our conclusion but indicate state activity in many other directions. He says :—

आकरकान्तद्रव्यहस्तिवनव्रजवणिकप्रयप्रचारान् वारिखलपथपक्षपट्टनानि च निवेशयेत् ।

“He shall carry on mining operations and manufactures, exploit timber and elephant-forests, offer facilities for cattle-breeding and commerce, conduct roads for traffic both by land and water and set up market towns (*panyapaṭṭana*).”²⁴

As regards trade and commerce, the state actively participated in them and seemed to have levied preferential tariffs on all commodities other than those produced by the state itself. This step was taken perhaps to ensure the sale of the products of the state manufactories and industries. It is distinctly stated that,

अराज्यपक्षाः पक्षकं यतं शुल्कं दद्युः ।²⁵

The *Panyādhyakṣa* or the superintendent of commerce, who controlled the commercial department of the state, was always careful to realise compensation from local or foreign

²² P. 90 ; Trans., p. 108.

²³ P. 84.

²⁴ P. 47, Trans., p. 54 ; see also p. 49 ; Trans., p. 54.

²⁵ P. 121.

merchants for entailing loss on the king's liquor and other traffic caused perhaps by competition.²⁶ It was the duty of this official not only to provide internal markets for the sale of the state manufactured articles but also to open facilities for their sale in foreign marts and countries.

In this connection it is interesting to note that though the state took adequate steps for the realisation of profit by the sale of these commodities, it was always the policy of the government to take care that no hardship was felt by the people of the country. Thus it is laid down,

उभयं च प्रजानामनुग्रहेण विक्रापयेत् । स्थूलमपि च लाभं प्रजानामनुप-
चातिकं वारयेत् ।

“Both kinds of merchandise shall be favourably sold to the people. He (the *Panyādhyakṣa*) shall avoid such large profits as will harm the people.”²⁷

The government provided facilities for the importation of all foreign merchandise except those whose importation was forbidden, these being government monopolies, such as, metals, weapons, etc.²⁸ The state in the *Kauṭīliya* also seems to have run shipping services. This appears from the following statement,

यात्रावेतनं राजनीभिः संपतन्तः ।

“The passengers arriving on board the *king's ship* (shall pay) the requisite amount of sailing fee.”²⁹

The state in the *Kauṭīliya* always kept watch on the traders and merchants and it is distinctly stated that they shall be restrained from oppressing the people.³⁰ The author also refers to traders who unite to cause rise and fall in the prices of articles and live by making cent. per cent. profits.

वैदेहकास्तु सभूय पणानामुत्कर्षापकर्षं कुर्वन्तः “पणे पणशतं कुम्भी
कुम्भशतं” इत्याजीवन्ति ।³¹

²⁶ Ibid .

²⁷ P. 96 ; Trans., p. 118

²⁸ Pp. 98 and 111

²⁹ P. 126, Trans., p. 156.

³⁰ P. 202.

³¹ P. 333, Trans., p. 403

This activity of the traders as Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests is very much like the "corner" or "trust systems",³² whose baneful effect is only too well known at the present day. The state in Kautilya was wide awake against such contingencies and heavy fines (1000 *panas*) were levied on all merchants who conspired either to prevent the sale of merchandise or to sell or purchase commodities at a higher prices. Kautilya says :

वैदेशिकानां वा सभूय पण्यमवबन्धतामनर्घेण विक्रीयताम् क्रोषतां वा सङ्गच्छन् दण्डः ।³³

To prevent arbitrary prices being levied from the consumers the state controlled the price and profit. A general profit of five per cent. over and above the fixed price of local commodities and ten per cent. on foreign produce was allowed. Merchants who enhanced the price or realised profit even to the extent of half a *pana* more than the above scale in the sale or purchase of commodities, were punished with fines ranging from five to two-hundred *panas*. Thus it is said,

अनुज्ञातक्रयादुपरि चैषां स्वदेशीयानां पण्यानां पञ्चकं शतमाजीवं स्थापयेत् । परदेशीयानां दशकम् । ततः परमर्धं वर्धयतां क्रये विक्रये वा भावयतां पण्यशते पञ्चपञ्चाद्विगतो दण्डः । तेनार्धवृद्धौ दण्डवृद्धिर्व्याख्याता ।³⁴

The state also regulated the middleman's profit.³⁵ In fixing these prices and profits the superintendent of commerce did not act arbitrarily. He paid due regard to all considerations of the outlay, the quantity manufactured, the amount of toll, the interest and all other kinds of accessory expenses involved. The author remarks,

देशकाशान्तरितानां तु पण्यानां ।

प्रक्षेपं पण्यनिवृत्तिं शुद्धकं वृद्धिमवक्रयम् ।

व्यायानन्धांश्च संख्याय स्थापयेदर्थमर्थवित् ॥³⁶

³² *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 35

³³ P. 206 ; Trans., p. 260.

³⁴ P. 205 ; Trans., p. 259

³⁵ Pp. 205-206.

³⁶ P. 207 ; Trans., p. 261.

Whenever there was any excessive supply of merchandise the state centralised its sale and prohibited the sale of that commodity elsewhere before the centralised supply was disposed of. Kautilya says,

पश्चाद्वापुष्पात् पश्चाद्वचः सर्वपश्चान्येकमुद्धानि विक्रीणीत ।³⁷

As a probable safeguard against cheating the government of its dues, commodities were never allowed to be sold where they were grown or manufactured,

जातिभूमिषु च पश्चानामविक्रयः । खनिभ्योधातुपश्चादानेषु पञ्चतमत्वयः ।³⁸

Nor were they permitted to be sold before they were precisely weighed, measured or numbered,

तस्माद्विक्रयः पश्चानां धृतो मितो गणितो वा कार्यः ।³⁹

A great encouragement to trade and commerce was given by the fact that the state undertook the responsibility for all things lost by the merchants,

नष्टापहृतं च प्रतिविदध्यात् ।⁴⁰

The state here played the part of something like a modern insurance agency.

Thus we see that the trade policy of the government according to the *Kautiliya* was one of active interference in every sphere. We find the state not only participating in its own capacity, in trade and commerce, but also devising various laws to control prices and profits and exports and imports of the country. The public welfare was less at the mercy of private enterprise and the state did not surely countenance "inordinate speculation", "trusts", "rings", "corners" and similar other "products of our high civilization"

³⁷ P. 206

³⁸ P. 118.

³⁹ P. 110.

⁴⁰ P. 111.

which seem to be "holding high revelry" in the present days.⁴¹

We shall now try to sketch the state policy towards labour as depicted in the *Kautilya*. The author begins by a general statement to the effect that those who conspire to lower the quality of the work of artisans, to hinder their income or obstruct their sale or purchase shall be fined a thousand *panas*. He says,

कारुणिग्भिनां कर्मशुष्कापकर्शमाजीवं विक्रयम् क्रयोपघातं वा सन्भूय
समुत्थापयतां सहस्रं दण्डः ।⁴²

As to the wages of labourers the state allowed them freedom of contract. Thus it is laid down that a labourer shall get the promised wage,

यथा सञ्भाषितं वेतनं लभेत् ।⁴³

Again,

सञ्भाषितवेतनस्तु यथा सञ्भाषितम् ।⁴⁴

Failure to pay wages or misappropriation of wages was punished with fines of five to ten times the amount of the wages,

वेतनादानी दशबन्धो दण्डः । शतपण्यो वा । अपव्ययमाने द्वादशपण्यो
दण्डः पञ्चबन्धो वा ।⁴⁵

But in the absence of any previous agreement the state intervened and fixed the wages. Accordingly a cultivator or herdsman, whose wages were unsettled, got one-tenth of the crop and clarified butter, respectively. A trader likewise got one-tenth of the sale proceeds :

दशभागमसञ्भाषितवेतनो लभेत् ।⁴⁶

⁴¹ W H Dawson, *Bismarck and State Socialism* (2nd ed), Preface, p x.

⁴² P 205

⁴³ P 184

⁴⁴ P. 183.

⁴⁵ P. 184

⁴⁶ P 183.

Adequate steps were taken to regulate slave labour and improve its condition by suitable legislation. The state exercised a strict supervision over their "conditions of labour" and saw that they were, both from sanitary and moral standpoint, such as would shield both mind and body from deleterious influences. Thus to prevent slaves from being maltreated it has been laid down that employing a slave to carry the dead, or to sweep ordure, urine or the leavings of food, or keeping a slave naked, or hurting him, or violating a female slave shall cause the forfeiture of the value paid for him or her,

प्रेतविस्मृद्वोच्छिष्टादिशामाहितस्य नमस्त्थापनं दण्डप्रेषणमतिक्रम्य च
स्त्रीणां मूत्रनाशकनम् ।⁴⁷

The private property of a slave was recognised by the state and his master only inherited it in the absence of his kinsmen,

दासद्रव्यस्य ज्ञातयो दायदः । तेषामभावे स्वामी ।⁴⁸

It is also stated that those who did not heed the claims of their slaves or hirelings (*āhitaka*) shall be taught their duty,

दासाहितकवन्मूढमृषतो राजा विनयं ग्राहयेत् ।⁴⁹

The village guilds, probably of artisans were protected by the regulation that no guilds of any kind other than local co-operative guilds (संवत्सानुत्यायकादन्यसमयानुबन्धः)⁵⁰ shall find entrance into the village. Guilds of workmen were granted various concessions by the state. Thus they were usually granted seven nights over and above the period agreed upon for fulfilling their agreement.⁵¹

⁴⁷ P. 182; Trans., p. 231.

⁴⁸ P. 188.

⁴⁹ P. 47.

⁵⁰ P. 48.

⁵¹ P. 185.

To save the helpless village cultivators, who are "dependent and bent upon their fields," the state regulated that there should be in villages no buildings intended for sports, nor with a view of procuring money, free-labour, commodities, grains and liquids in plenty, should actors, dancers, singers, drummers, buffoons (*vāggivana*) and bards (*kuṣilava*) create any disturbance in the work of the villagers.⁵³

Thus we see that the moral and material elevation and amelioration of the working classes, which Wagner and Smöller so emphatically urge,⁵³ were kept much in view by the state in the *Kauṭiliya*. That the state took such stringent measures to improve the conditions of the labour of slaves—the members on the lowest rung of society—is perhaps ample proof that such safeguards were not lacking for the higher forms of labour. It also appears from the above and other frequent references to artisan-guilds that the state recognised the "right of coalition" of labour for economic purposes.

The state also undertook to provide protection and subsistence for orphans, and for the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless. Subsistence was also given by the government to helpless women when they were carrying and also to the children they gave birth to. It is laid down,

बालवृद्धव्याधितव्यसन्धनायाश्च राजा विधेयात् । स्त्रियमप्रजातां प्रजातायाश्च पुत्रान् ।⁵⁴

From the above we can assume the existence of something like our present-day old-age pensions, accident insurance and a general duty of the state to provide "subsistence for those who could not make a living". Thanks to this attitude of the state, the workmen and people in general perhaps

⁵³ P. 48, Trans., p. 64

⁵⁴ W H Dawson, op cit., pp 3-8.

⁵⁵ P. 47.

could "anticipate the hour of sickness and incapacity without anxiety" and face old age with confidence. As Dawson remarks to grant to the toiling masses such a boon is better than to win a great victory. It is not clear how the state fed and nursed the newborn babes of the helpless mothers.

The state in Kautilya provided work for those who were out of employment. Work was given according to the capacity of each labourer. Helpless widows, cripple women, girls, mendicants or ascetic women and similar people were employed in the king's weaving manufactories to spin thread⁵⁵; prizes were often awarded by way of encouragement.⁵⁶ The respectable but poor woman was provided with work and due respect was paid to her modesty. They were provided with work within their own houses sent on to them with due courtesy through female servants belonging to the weaving establishments of the state.⁵⁷ The orphans who were fed by the state were made to study science, palmistry and various other arts and it was from these that the "classmate spies" were recruited for the royal espionage department for criminal investigation.⁵⁸

The state in the *Kautiliya* also had some control over the capital of the country. Interest on debts was strictly regulated and the government thoroughly scrutinised the nature of all transactions between debtors and creditors—"for," says Kautilya, "on this the welfare of the kingdom depends."⁵⁹

In fixing the rate of interest due regard was paid to the risks involved in trading and the rate of interest varied from fifteen per cent. to sixty per cent. in commercial undertakings; while a still higher rate was granted in the insecure forest-tracts and among the sea-traders. Persons exceeding, or

⁵⁵ P. 113.

⁵⁶ P. 114.

⁵⁷ P. 114.

⁵⁸ P. 20.

⁵⁹ P. 174.

causing to exceed, the rate of interest fixed by the state were punished with the first amercement,

सपादपचा धर्म्या मासवृत्तिः पचयतश्च । पंचपचा व्यवहारिकी । दशपचा कान्तारकाशाम् । विंशतिपचा सानुद्राणां । ततः परं कर्तुः कारयितुश्च पूर्व-
स्नाहसदृशः ।⁶⁰

A maximum limit was placed on the realisation of interest. The total amount (capital plus interest) as a rule must be less than four times the amount lent and any creditor suing for four times the amount was fined.⁶¹

Thus as regards money-lending the state allowed no freedom of contract. The state had fairly clear ideas of equity and all transactions had to conform to these principles.

I shall conclude this essay by drawing attention to another fact which seems to be of great political importance. In cases of national calamities the state, after doing all that lay in its power, is directed by Kautilya to distribute the hoarded income of the rich among the distressed population by causing them to disgorge (*vamanam kuryāt*) their accumulated wealth. The passage in Kautilya runs as follows :—

दुर्भिक्षे राजा बीजभक्षोपग्रहम् कुर्यात् । दुर्गतकर्म वा भक्षानुग्रहेण भक्त-
संविभागं वा देयनिक्षेपं वा । मित्राणि वा व्यपाययेत् । कर्षणं वमनं वा
कुर्यात् ।

“ During famine, the king shall show favour to his people by providing them with seeds and provision (*bijabhaktopagraham*).

“ He may either do such works as are usually resorted to in calamities ; he may show favour by distributing either his own collection of provisions or the hoarded income of the rich among the people ; or seek for help from his friends among kings.

“Or the policy of thinning the rich by exacting excessive revenue (*karśanam*), or causing them to vomit their accumulated wealth (*vamanam*) may be resorted to.”⁶²

Thus the policy of “thinning” the rich by excessive super-taxation was not unknown and was resorted to in extreme cases, when help from friendly kings failed. The above looks very much like the capital levy in our own times which is being urged in England and many other countries to cut down the huge war debts and thus save the people from generations of economic servitude.

Thus ends the brief survey of the question. It will be perhaps going too far to say that the system that Kautilya represents is complete and full-fledged state-socialism but there is no doubt that state-socialistic tendencies were at work in the general policy recommended to the state. This will be more apparent from the following brief summary of the leading ideas embodied in Wagner’s theoretical scheme of state-socialism.⁶³ He urges

- (a) Unconditional possession by the state of the forests both for political as well as fiscal reasons.
- (b) Control of agricultural land and encouragement of peasant proprietors and discouragement of the accumulation of land in few hands.
- (c) State ownership and control of urban lands.
- (d) State control and ownership of the means of communication.
- (e) Collective possession of mines in cases where the minerals are directly useable, such as coal, salt, etc.
- (f) State participation in production, for fiscal and other reasons, in domains, which the individualists would carefully reserve to private enterprise.

⁶² P. 206, Trans., pp. 962-63.

⁶³ The foremost champion of state-socialism in Germany.

- (g) Industrial legislation to protect and ameliorate the condition of labour, such as accident insurance, old age pensions, etc.

Judged by the above standards it is perhaps no exaggeration to say that Kautilya advocated state-socialism and in some points, as for instance in his advocacy of the complete nationalisation of mines, he held even more advanced views than Wagner. It is also very probable that the socialistic elements which we find embodied in the *Kautiliya* were not peculiar to him alone, but were perhaps enunciated by those who preceded him, on whose *Arthaśāstras* he claims to have based his own treatise, making it on the whole a compendium of all the works on polity,

पृथिव्यालामे पालने च यावन्मर्त्यशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः प्रस्थापितानि प्रायश्च-
क्षानि संगृह्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।⁶⁶

It will be thus very interesting to analyse our available sources to find out the many elements of socialism which they might contain and make a comparative study with our modern ideas on the subject. The present article is only introductory and as such I have only touched upon the more important points reserving the subject for a fuller treatment in future.

THE INFLUENCE OF BENGALI ON GUJARATI.

KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B., J.P.,
Chief Judge, Presidency Small Causes Court, Bombay.

Chaitanya is said to have visited Gujarat, and even before that time there may have been communication between Gujarat and Bengal, through religious devotees, but there was very little known to us about her language, and literature. That came about a generation ago. The founding of the *Brahmo Samaj*, and the filtering down of its tenets on this side of India, made us take some interest in the province, which was deepened when we came to learn of the Tagores, first through some translations of their works and then through one of them serving and living in Gujarat. The venerable and religious personality of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, was revealed to us by one closely associated with him and with Bengalis, and now deceased, Narayan Hemchandra, a Gujarati, who introduced Gujarat to the beauty and wealth of Bengali literature, and the stay of Satyendranath Tagore, in our midst, gave us a glimpse of the domestic life of a high class Bengali. This Narayan Hemchandra, was possessed of individuality and bitten by what the Germans call *Wanderlust* and in the course of his peregrinations happened to consort with Bengalis like Nobinchandra Roy and Devendranath Tagore. He necessarily picked up their language, and was so impressed with the richness of its literature, that he published translation after translation of Bengali books, religious, fiction, drama and story; poetry he seems to have eschewed, and wisely as his prosaic nature did not incline that way. The translations he poured forth were unsmooth, unpolished, ungrammatical, rugged and very often mere

transliterations of Bengali prose into Gujarati, but the underlying ideas and the subject matter, inspite of these drawbacks, stood out so prominently, that the attention of the reader was arrested, and the language and literature of Bengal began naturally to take hold of the popular imagination, and we wished to know more about them. In some isolated cases, Narayan had taken the help of gifted Gujaratis, as in his translation of Joytirindra Tagore's *Ashrumati Natak*, where the poet's imagination of Narsimhrao Divatia, himself a distinguished poet, greatly assisted the bringing out of all the grace and charm of the original, even in a translation. It was this pioneer work of Narayan which whetted the appetite of Gujaratis to make a closer acquaintance of the language than that furnished through translations. Earnest students then took up a study of Bengali, using Bengali-English guide books as the medium. Some were content to plod on with Carey's Dictionary and a Bengali-Hindi grammar, or even with Bankimchandra Chatterji's Bengali text of the *Marriage Penal Code* and its English translation, from which they laboriously adjusted the sense of the English word to its Bengali original. Their labours however were well rewarded, and they were able to follow standard works, even to appreciate the humour of Bankim in his *Lok Rahasya*. The poetry of Michael Madhusudan Dutt (his inimitable *Meghnad Badh Kavya*), was not found difficult to understand. And all this, because the student found such a close resemblance between the syntax of Gujarati and Bengali. The genius of the two languages also was common, even some words of domestic abuse were found to be common. The ball thus set rolling, gathered speed, and to-day so many amateurs abound that very few Gujaratis would be surprised to hear even in casual conversation, that the person who addresses them knows Bengali. Numerous translations, specially of novels and dramas, and latterly of a majority of Rabindranath Tagore's books, have appeared within the last fifteen

years, and though they have not in any way affected the course of original writing, they have to a certain extent, affected the vogue of some writers. Bankim, Vidya-sagar and Romeschandra Dutt, are as well known to Gujarati readers as their own writers. This is no doubt, very gratifying, so far as it goes, but the response made by Bengal to this keen desire of Gujarat to be possessed of a more than nodding acquaintance with her language and literature is very poor. Major Vamandas Basu (I.M.S. retired) of Allahabad, and a few, very few other Bengali gentlemen have evinced a desire to learn our language or to know what our literature is like. Perhaps comparatively speaking more Gujarati-knowing Englishmen would be found than Bengalis. We are grateful to Bengal for what she has given us, though we have rather snatched it, by our exertions, and it does not behove us to demand of her a return, but we will say, all the same, that her exertions will not go unrewarded. Our literature would be found, though perhaps less rich and varied, equally interesting as her own.

NAU-RŪZ.

AGA M. KAZIM SHIRAZI,

Lecturer in Persian, University of Calcutta.

Nau-rūz (New-Day), is the oldest of all the Persian festivals. It occurs in the beginning of the Spring when the Sun enters the sign of Aries (Ram) at the vernal equinox.¹ There is a multiplicity of traditions respecting this ancient festival, some of them conflicting and at variance with one another. What may be taken as something reliable is to be found given by the author of *Rauzat-us-safa*, who ascribes its origin to the period of Jamshid, one of the most ancient Kings of Persia, who started it and established it on a firm basis in Persia. He asserts that Jamshid in the beginning of his reign turned his attention towards Fars and laid there the foundation of his capital. No one had ever seen such a building in the world as that which he planned and constructed there. Only a few pillars may be seen now as remains of that stupendous and astounding building and in common parlance these ruins are called *Chihil-Minār* or The Forty Pillars.² When the sun was leaving the constellation of Pisces (Fish) and was about to enter Aries, Jamshid seated himself in great state upon his magnificent throne with all the nobles of his realm standing at its foot, and ordered festivities for the occasion and bestowed favours on the people and showered upon them mercy, kindness and royal grace. He named this day *Nau-rūz*, and he pleased all his soldiers and subjects by

¹ According to the researches of modern astronomy the sun does not enter Aries on the 21st March for then it is, elsewhere, in the 20th degree of Pisces. With the lapse of thousands of years, this difference in the transit of the sun has arisen.

² Such is the tradition. In fact these have now been identified with the grand ruins of Persepolis.

opening the gates of enjoyment for them. This has been also mentioned by the author of the *Burhān-i-Qatī*.

It is noteworthy that Shia theologians unanimously uphold the dignity and sanctity of this grand festival on the ground that God created the universe on this day, when the sun was entering the sign of Aries; and, as the author of the *Burhān-i-Qatī* has remarked, "the seven planets were there in exaltation and they were in the first point of Aries".³ On this day, as the Shia theologians assert, God uttered the words, *alasto-bi-rabbikum* (am I not your God?) before the souls of all his creatures that were in a state of disembodiment, and He demanded from them all unqualified admission of His Absolute Unity and of His Eternal and Impartial Justice as also firm belief in all the Prophets and Apostles, in the Imāms and Leaders of mankind, especially in the twelve Immaculate Imāms of the Shias. All this is supposed to have taken place on the first day, at the first dawn of creation, as it might be called, when the sun sent his refulgent rays upon all his planetary host, touching them all with life and vigour, growth and fulness. It is further asserted by Shia theologians that it was on this identical day that the *Kashti-i Nūh* (Noah's Ark) reached its place of rest, its haven of refuge, on the top of "Mount Judi". It was also this same day on which Gabriel visited the Prophet Muhammad, with the first inspired message (*wahī*) from God and proclaimed him as Prophet. It is also asserted by them that it was at this *Nau-rūz* festival that the Prophet Muhammad openly proclaimed 'Ali as his successor and ordered all his followers to kiss his hand and swear fealty and allegiance to him. And again on this day, the last of the Imāms, Imām Mehdi, would make his apperance and signally defeat the cursed *Dajjal* (the "Anti-Christ"), and put him to death in the Kamāsah quarter of the Kūfah.

For this reason the Shias hold this day in great reverence and esteem, and regard it as one of the greatest festivals of

³ This seems to be completely at variance with the received doctrines of Astrology.

their religion. But splendour of this festival and the gaiety of the people, are diminished considerably when this festival happens to fall during the Muharram.

From all that has been stated above it would appear that Nau-rūz has been the great national festival of the Persians throughout their history. The festival lasts over a fortnight and is still celebrated with all the magnificence and splendour it has commanded during the past centuries. It is the most solemn feast and has been celebrated from the earliest days of idolatry throughout all the Persian dominion, and also in most of the neighbouring countries like Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Turkistan. It is celebrated with great rejoicings in every little town, village, and hamlet. Holiday attire, interchange of gifts, congratulations and good wishes, together with merry-making are the order of the season. Nor has fashion allowed to lapse the time-honoured custom of paying visits to friends during these glorious feast of Jamshid. The visitors are welcomed with large trays of sweatmeats and confectionery especially prepared for the occasion, and favours of this sort are sent from friend to friend, for tradition says that *he who tastes sugar on the morning of Nau-rūz before speaking and anoints himself with oil, will keep off all sorts of mishap during the rest of the year.*

Sugar and confectionery, of which the Persians are extremely fond, have also ancient authority and royal sanction, since among other good things associated with the first Nau-rūz and the inauguration of the solar calendar by King Jamshid was the happy discovery of the sugar-cane, and the king ordered its juice to be pressed out and sugar to be made thereof.

The way in which Nau-rūz is celebrated among the Persians at the present time may now be described.

Nau-rūz in Persia begins just before the *Sarma-i Pīrzan* (the winter affecting the old woman). Dervishes pitch their tiny tents in front of the houses of rich folk and recite

prayers and poems specially composed for the occasion in their honour, belauding them and wishing them all joy and prosperity through the coming year. It is customary to make these Dervishes some little gift; and if this is not done quickly, they blow their horns at intervals throughout the night and render sleep impossible until the purse strings of the rich Khan or merchant are loosened.

Some ten days before Nau-rūz, the *Khāna-Takāni* (house shaking)⁴ is performed. Every room is carefully swept and carpets are taken out and beaten. Many get their houses or their apartments whitewashed or painted. A few days before Nau-rūz some wheat is put into a piece of coarse cloth and is soaked in water; the cloth is then wrapped round an earthen water pitcher. And by the day of the Nau-rūz the tender green sprouts begin to show through the cloth. Special cakes made of wheat-flour, butter and sugar are also baked, and sweetmeats of innumerable varieties, for which Persia is justly famous, are prepared for this festival.

It is considered lucky to keep all the doors open; this by the bye, promotes sanitation and ventilation by letting the fresh spring breezes to blow through. It is also the custom to take good or bad omens from any stray conversation that may be overheard on that day. The listener stands on a key, the symbol of opening the hidden mysteries of future, and awaits with bated breath and beating heart. If the listener hears words like *jā-i shumā sabz būd* (your place was empty, we missed you much), or *khai-li khush guzasht* (time passed very happily), he or she goes away highly pleased; but if on the other hand some utterances of a mournful nature, such as *Khudā ūrā maghfarat bukunad* (God forgive the deceased), or *haif ast, az miyān-i mā raft* (pity he is gone from our midst), or *bimāriash sangin ast* (his illness is serious), the listener feels that the New Year will be inauspicious.

⁴ This corresponds to the "spring-cleaning" of Europe.

Two hours prior to the exact time of the Sun entertaining the first point of Aries a banquet is spread out in a clean room of the house, loaded with all sorts of sweets, fruits of the season, vegetables, fried fish, curried fowl and many other dainty dishes. Specially there must be seven eatables whose names begin with the letter *sin* (*s*), such as, *siḥ* (apple), *sirkā* (vinegar), *sambūsa* (mince pie) etc. Eggs boiled and raw, dyed in various colours, chiefly the colour of the Nau-rūz⁵ are served and are eaten by all. The mother, especially should eat one egg for each one of her children. Candles equal to the number of children in the house are lighted and milk is kept boiling as a sign of abundance. A live fish is placed in a bowl of water, which, it is said, instinctively turns its face towards the *Qibla* (Mecca) the moment the Sun enters the sign of Aries. A prayer carpet is spread and the following formula is repeated three hundred and sixty-six times :

yā muqallibal qulūbi wal absār
yā mudabbrial laili wan nahār
yā muhawwilal hawli wal ahwāl
hawwil hālanā ilā ahsanil hāl.

“Oh Thou Changer of hearts and eyes!
 Oh Thou Creator of nights and days!
 Oh Thou Alterer of Conditions and dispositions!
 Change Thou our Condition into the best condition!”

At the exact moment of the entry of the Sun into Aries, there begins water-throwing at each other. Sometimes it is perfumed water that is thus used and very often it has the colour declared by the Astronomer Royal of Persia to be the right colour for the coming year.⁶

⁵ In Central Europe and in Russia boiled eggs dyed in various colours, chiefly purple, are exchanged as Easter gifts. The Easter is the ancient “spring festival”.

⁶ In India throwing of coloured water upon each other is indulged in during the *Holi* or the “spring festival” (the ancient *Vasantotsava*).

Gold and silver coins and wheat are held in the palm of the hand as well as a wood-louse in order to bring good luck. These coins are then distributed to different members of the family as tokens of good luck.

Visiting and feasting then follow in every house during the rest of the festival. People known to be unlucky, such as executioners, washers of dead bodies, grave-diggers, and members of their families are rigidly excluded on this day. No work is done nor any journey or enterprise undertaken during the twelve days from the Nau-rūz day. At this season too, it is customary to play games, and in every open space men and boys might be seen enjoying leap-frog, tip-cat and other games. Sons of rich men throw the javelin when at full gallop and catch it as it rebounds from the ground. They also practise archery and shooting and perform wondrous feats of marksmanship. Wrestling is, however, the chief sport indulged in on this day, in witnessing which the rich and the poor alike take part.

A word might now be added with regard to the *taqwim*, or the Chart of the Heavens, which is drawn up by the Persian Astronomer Royal. He is, of course, deeply versed in Astrology as well, and he prepares this chart of the Nau-rūz with regard to the exact moment of the entry of the Sun into the constellation of Aries. The principles of drawing up of this chart are, of course, based upon the principles of Astrology, from which much-maligned science modern Astronomy itself has been born. The Persian *taqwim* is based on the Turkish calculations on the same subject. Very intricate and complicated are the rules to be applied before the Court Astronomer of Persia arrives at the final conclusion with regard to the *sawāri* and *rang* of the year. The *sawāri* is the animal on which the *sawār* (or the rider) is supposed to be mounted, who decides and brings about all the events of the coming year. And by a similar calculation the *rang* or colour of the year is also arrived at. A detailed description of the

methods employed for arriving at these conclusions is outside the scope of the present article, as it would necessitate a very technical and abstruse dissertation on the little understood much ridiculed Science of Astrology.

It may be further remarked that in some Muslim countries like Persia and Afghanistan the Honours List is published on the Nau-rūz day and the titles and the *Khil'at* (dress of honour) are handed over to the lucky recipients on this day.

In conclusion a few words with regard to the *ab-i Naisān* may be added. *Naisān* is a Syrian month which corresponds to April. The rain which falls thirty days after Nau-rūz is called the *ab-i Naisān*, the drops of which falling into oyster shells are said to produce pearls but when falling on serpents they are changed to venom. According to a Shia tradition if the water of Naisān be carefully collected in a clean and pure basin direct from the sky and if certain verses of the *Quran* and other holy formulas be recited over it and "the magic breath be blown over it", wonderful curative properties are imparted to this water. If this water be given as a drink to childless men or women, they are blest with children; if it is poured at the root of a fruit tree it will increase the yield of fruits. This water is most carefully preserved in clean and pure phials. It is believed that if a sick person, suffering from any disease, drinks a small quantity of this water for seven consecutive days, twice daily morning and evening, he will surely be rid of his ailment and be healthy and robust once again. In short it is supposed to be a universal panacea for suffering mankind.

THE SUĒ VIHAR COPPER-PLATE OF THE REIGN OF KANIṢKA.

N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A.

*Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture,
University of Calcutta.*

The copper-plate which bears this inscription, was discovered in 1869 in a ruined Buddhist *stūpa* at Suē Vihar, about sixteen miles S. W. of Bahawalpur, in the Bahawalpur State, Punjab. The inscription was first published in 1870, by Dowson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. IV, pp. 477-502 and by E. C. Bayley, with a reduced copy of the original, in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 65-70. In 1881 the record was edited with a lithograph prepared from a squeeze, by Hoernle in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 324-31, and in 1882 an independent version of it was published by Bhagwanlal Indraji in the same Journal, Vol. XI, pp. 128-29. The transcript by Hoernle has been generally accepted as the most reliable.¹ But even this transcript is capable of being improved upon in a good many places. Besides, no mechanical reproduction of this important epigraph has yet been made accessible. I therefore make bold to re-edit it along with plates, which will clearly show how far the improvements made by me are acceptable, and will also enable scholars to throw further light on the subject. Incidentally I may add, that Hoernle's lithograph was defective in many respects; hence the alphabetic forms in this inscription, which Bühler has shown

¹ See Senart's remarks, *Inscr. of Piyadasi* (Eng. trans.), Vol. II, p. 163, No. 57.

in Cols. X-XIII of his Table No. 1 and which are drawn according to that lithograph, are not accurate from the strictly scientific point of view. To remedy this defect a chart has been appended illustrating the forms of letters as they actually occur in the inscription. The reproduction is from a set of ink impressions personally taken by me from the original copper-plate, now in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society at Calcutta.

This is a single plate measuring about 2'-6" square. It seems to have been originally rounded off at the corners, one of which has suffered damage owing to the wear and tear of time. A portion of the plate, again, below one of the lines, has completely disappeared. The inscription is engraved on one face only, and runs along the edge of the four sides of the plate. The first three portions (marked A, B and C) cover each a length of about 1'-11" and the fourth (marked D), only about 3". The writing shows that it consisted of punctured dots before it was finally incised. In some places (e.g. in the letter *ṣka* of *Kaniṣka*, in A, and *ne* of *Damane*, in B) portions of punctured letters are left without being fully incised. A and B, as Dowson and Hoernle have also pointed out, appear to have been more carefully engraved than C and D. Another fact to be noted is, that in A words are separated by space, but in the rest of the record this rule is not observed. The letters vary in size from $\frac{1}{2}$ " to 1", and are on the whole very well-preserved, excepting only a few which have been partly eaten away by verdigris. The characters are Kharoṣṭhī of the Kuṣāṇa period and present highly cursive forms. They are certainly more cursive than those on the Taxila copper-plate of Patika² and the Taxila silver-scroll of Mahārāja Kuṣāṇa,³ and are apparently less so than those in the Wardak vase inscription,⁴

² *Ep Ind.*, Vol IV, p. 54 ff and pl.

³ *Ibid*, Vol XIV, p. 284 ff and pl.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol XI, v 202 ff and pl

the Dutreuil de Rhins MS. of the Dhammapada⁵ and Sir Aurel Stein's inscriptions from Niya.⁶

The forms of individual letters may be seen from the accompanying chart. There are some, however, which call for a few special remarks. The subscript *r* in the conjunct *tr* is expressed by a right hand curve (e.g. in *devaputrasya*, A) and that in *pr* (in *pratīḥansa*, B), by a short stroke appended to the bottom of the letter. But the superscript *r* is always shown by a loop with a roundish tail at the base of the original letter which has, of course, only graphic significance, e.g., in *ry* (no. 87) and *rv* (no. 88). Special

attention is due to the form  of the letter which was

recognized by Bühler, as one of the new cursive formations.⁷ The point to be noted in this connection is, that this form of *rv* is found only in the undoubted records of the Kuṣāṇa period⁸, e.g., the Taxila silver-scroll,⁹ the Māṇikyāla stone,¹⁰ the Peshawar relic casket,¹¹ the Āra¹² and the Wardak vase,¹³ inscriptions. On the other hand, records of an earlier period do not contain the looped form denoting the conjunct letter *rv*. In Aśōkan records,¹⁴ for

instance, it is expressed by  and on the Taxila

⁵ *Journ. As.*, 9. ser., Tome XII (1898), p. 193 ff and pls.

⁶ See Plates of these inscriptions in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, Vol. II

⁷ *Ind. Pal.* (Eng. trans.), p. 29.

⁸ And I may add this is also the verdict of Kuṣāṇa coins. On the coins of Vima Kadphises, for instance, is traceable the new form of the conjunct *rv*. See Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, p. 183 and pl. xvii, fig. 31

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *Journ. As.*, 9. ser., Tome VII (1896), p. 5 and pl

¹¹ *ASR.*, 1909-10, p. 135.

¹² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XLV, p. 130 and pl.

¹³ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Senart, *Journ. As.*, 1888, p. 9 (of extract), n

copper-plate¹⁵ (in *sarva-budhana*, l. 3) and the

Mathurā Lion-capital¹⁶ by . This tendency to express a

superscript *r* at the base of the letter by a loop¹⁷ seems to have been the general characteristic of the alphabet of the Kuṣāṇa period. What happens in the case of *rv* is true also of *rdh*. In the Taxila plate, the sign used to denote the *r* of this group (in *ayubalavardhie*, l. 4) is the same as that of *rv* of the same record. But in the Māṇikyāla inscription, which belongs to the reign of Kanīṣka, the *r* in *rdh* (in *samvardhaka*, l. 3) as well as *rv* (in *purvaspa*, l. 2) has assumed the looped form.¹⁸ We can therefore lay down as a general rule, that whenever in a record we find the superscript *r* expressed by the loop, it is very nearly certain that that record has to be assigned to a period later than that of the Śaka satraps of Taxila and Mathurā.

Among other compound letters, attention may be drawn to *tv* (no. 85) and *sv* (no. 92). The subscript *v* in each case is denoted by a right hand curve which resembles the one employed to denote the subscript *r* in *tr*. Thus in *satvanam* (in C) and *devaputra* (in A) there is practically no difference between the two signs *tv* and *tr* at all. The case is, however, not the same in all Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Thus e. g. in the Taxila silver-scroll and the Māṇikyāla inscription, the subscript *v* in *tv* (as well as *sv*) is much larger in size than the subscript *r* in *tr*, and one cannot be mistaken for the other. For the latter type of *tv*; cf. also the Hidda inscription.¹⁹

¹⁵ Loc. cit

¹⁶ Thomas, Table of Akṣaras in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pl. opposite p. 146.

¹⁷ The superscript *r* is regularly denoted by the loop in Central Asian records Rapson, *Actes du XIVe Congrès Int. Or.*, Alger, 1905, part 1, p. 218 and p. 219 (9 and 108).

¹⁸ In this record the looped form of superscript *r* occurs also in *rt* (115 and 13) and *rm* (l. 12). An earlier example of conjunct *rt* is afforded by the coins of Artemidoros; here the loop is absent, the superscript *r* being denoted by the san stroke as in the *rv* of the Aśoka period (Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, p. 54).

¹⁹ Thomas, *JRAS*, 1915, p. 94

The sign for *anuvāra* in *imam* (in C) is separated from the letter *ma*. A similar characteristic is known to prevail in the Niya documents, in which, as Prof. Rapson²⁰ tells us, "*anuvāra* is regularly indicated by a curve to the right in the stem of a letter, if it has a stem; but if the letter has no stem as in the case of *ta*, *ma* and *ha* *anuvāra* takes the form of a crescent—no doubt originally the letter *ma*—placed beneath the letter."

Interesting also is the peculiar form of *m* (no. 52) in *maharaja* (in A), just at the beginning of the epigraph and also of the same letter with a dot in *Damane* (in B). The former has a line appended to its right side, which cannot perhaps be, as it may appear at first, a mere scratch produced by accident. *M*-s with an appended curve or a dot put below them are well-known from the inscriptions of Aśoka, legends of Indo-Greek coins, as well as from Central Asian records,²¹ and on this analogy I venture, though with some diffidence, to take the stroke in the two *m*-s as part of the letter itself.

The letter *v* varies between the forms in which it has a line at the foot (see no. 64) on the same side as the one at the top, and those in which it is wanting (see no. 67). In the *v* of the Stein documents, this line is also appended, but on the side opposite to that of the top line, whereby the letter assumes the form of *h*.²²

A few other minor points may also be passing noted :

(a) As in other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions no distinctive mark is employed to indicate long sounds.²³

²⁰ *Actes du XIVe Congrès*, p. 219. Cf. also Sir Aurel Stein's note, *ASR.*, 1909-10, p. 137. On coins too, we notice this characteristic mode of placing the *anuvāra*. Cf. *maṃ* on coins of Hippostratos, Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 30 and pl. VI, 7.

²¹ See Bühler, *WZKM*, Vol. VIII, p. 194, *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 104 and pl. II, and Rapson, *op cit.*, p. 215. The letter *m* with a dot clearly occurs in a Kanhuara inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 118 and pl. (in the word *arama*), and to judge from a reproduction, also perhaps in the word *maharaja* of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription—*Journ. As.*, 8. ser, Tome XV (1890), pl. between pp. 138-39.

²² Rapson, *op. cit.* p. 218 and pl. (p. 213), 10b, (*suvarṇa*). For an interpretation of this sign, cf. Lüders, *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 658.

²³ See Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 16.

(b) The *i*-stroke is indicated by a slanting line crossing the middle of the letter, e.g. in *divase* (in A), *Kaniṣkasya* (in A), *Balanamdi* (in C) and *hita* (in D), and only touching the top of the letter, e.g. in *divase* (in B) and *ni* of *svaminim* (in C).

(c) The *e*-stroke is added at the foot of *d* in *devaputra* (in A), for which cf. the same in *khade* in l. 2 of the Zeda inscription.²⁴

(d) The letters *t* and *r* are in the majority of cases clearly distinguishable. But their forms in *dadatim* (in C) and *anuparivaram* (in C) are rather confusing.

(e) The *b* in *Balanamdi* (in C) is without its upper horn thus exactly resembling the *a* of the inscription.

(f) The letter *sa* sometimes shows a curve at the bottom; cf. nos. 74 and 76.

The language of the record is a form of Prākṛt which it has been customary to call the "mixed dialect." Looking at it one is at once impressed by the remarkable kinship it bears to Sanskrit.²⁵ M. Senart has already emphasised this point,²⁶ and so I may here mention only some of its most salient features :²⁷

(a) Elision of medial consonants does not take place even in a single instance.

(b) All the three sibilants as well as *v* and *b* are distinguished.

(c) Conjunct consonants are not assimilated except in the case of *ṣt* > *th* (e.g. in *yathim*, B) and of *kṣ* > *ch* (in *bhichusya*, B).

(d) *Ts* is changed into *cch* (in *samvacchare*, A).

²⁴ *Journ. As.*, 8 ser, Tome XV (1890), pl. between pp. 138-39

²⁵ Dr. Spooner marks the same characteristic in regard to the language of the Kaniska Casket inscription, see his remarks in *ASR*, 1909-10, p. 136.

²⁶ *Inscr. of Piyadasi* (Eng. trans.), Vol. II, p. 163.

²⁷ In some of these respects cf. Dr. Thomas on the Hadda inscription, *JRAS.*, 1915, p. 96.

(e) The genitive case ending *śya* occurs regularly, the only exception being *masasa* (in A).

In respect of **Orthography**, we have to note :

(a) The cerebral *ṇ* occurs only once, between the vowels, in *viharasvaminīm* (in C) and the king's name (Kaniṣka) is spelt with a dental *n*. The latter point is of special interest, because, in the majority of inscriptions it is spelt with a cerebral *ṇ*. The only exceptions are the present record, the Āra inscription and also probably the inscription on the Peshawar casket. Prof. Konow holds on linguistic grounds that this represents the original spelling of the word.²⁸

(b) The form *Daisika*²⁹ (in A) again, is an attempt at Prakritisising the Greek word *Δαΐσιος* (*Daisios*).

(c) In a number of places the engraver seems to have misread his draft. Thus, the *anusvāra* is wrongly employed in *viharasvaminīm*, *yathipratīṭhanamka*, *cham* and *dadatīm*, (in C). And, if my interpretation be correct, we find *vya* for *a* in *vyatra* (in B), *kha* for *ma* in *dhamkhakathisya* (in B) and *pa* for *pu* in *pajam* (in C).

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *maharaja*, *rajatiraja*, *devaputra* Kaniṣka and is dated the year 11, the 28th day of the Macedonian month *Daisios*. This Kaniṣka is doubtless Kaniska I. for whom we have yet another record of his eleventh year, viz. the Zeda inscription in the Lahore Museum.

Its object is to record the erection of a relic pillar (*yaṣṭi*) or stele of the monk Nāgadatta by a certain mistress of monastery (*cikārasvāmini*) named Balanamidī and another lady at a place called Damana.

²⁸ *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p 132 Professor Luders, on the other hand, if I understand him rightly, would incline to regard that *Kaniṣka* rather than *Kaniska* represents the original spelling of the word; *Ibid*, Vol. IX, pp 240-41.

²⁹ Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 67. A similar Prakritisisation is *Lisika* for *Λυσιος* (*Lysios*) on his coins, Whitehead, *Cat of Coins*, p 31.

I now give my reading of the inscription :

TEXT.

A. *maharajasya rajatirajasya devaputrasya Kaniṣkasya
samvacchare^a ekadaśe sam^b 10 1 Daśikasya masasa^c
divase aṭhaviśe di 20 4 4*

B. *vyatra^d divase bhichusya Nagadatasya dhamkha-
kathisyā^e acarya-Damatrata-śiṣyasya acarya-Bhava-
praśiṣyasya^f yaṭhim aropayaṭ(i)^g iha Damane*

C. *viharasvaminim^h upasika Balanamdi (ku)ṭubiniⁱ
Balajaya-mata ca imam yaṭhipratīṭhanamka^j
pa(u)-ja [ca]^m^k anuparivaram dadati^l sarva-
satvanam*

D. *hitasukhaya bhavatu.*

REMARKS.

(a) The *anusvāra* is not read by Prof Konow *SBAL*, 1916, p 800 and *Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p 136

(b) This is omitted apparently through oversight by Prof Konow—*Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p. 136

(c) Hoernle reads *masasya* But in the original there is no trace of the subscript *y* Bhagwanlal reads *māsasa*

(d) Should be corrected into *atra* See Notes below.

(e) Perhaps the reading intended is *dhammakathisyā*. See Notes below.

(f) The reading *bhate praśiṣyasya* is also possible The stroke above *v*, which Hoernle considers to be accidental, might really have been an *e*-stroke Cf the same in *Hoveṣkasya* in l 2 of the Wardak vase inscription. But I do not think *bhate* could have been a likely name of an individual.

(g) Hoernle reads *aropayaṭo*. But the *o*-stroke cannot be traced in the original.

(h) Read *svamin*

(i) The letter has been partly oxydized away But the reading is certain ; see Bühler, *Ind Pal* (Eng trans), p 23

(j) Read *pratīṭhanam*.

(k) Read *paṇam ca*. But the letter *ca* is not clear

(l) Read *dadati*.

THE SUE VIHAR COPPER-PLATE
of the reign of Kamsha

The year 11

A



B



C



D



ABOUT $\frac{1}{2}$ THE ORIGINAL SIZE
From ink - Impressions supplied by N G Majumdar

TRANSLATION.

In the year eleven—11—of the mahārāja, rajātirāja, devaputra Kanīṣka, on the twenty-eighth day—28—of the month of Daisios. On this day, here in Damana²⁹ a stele of the monk and Preacher of the Law, Nāgadatta, a disciple of the ācārya Damatrāta,³⁰ and disciple's disciple of the ācārya Bhava is set up by the mistress of the monastery and female lay disciple. Balanāndī and the married lady, mother of Balajaya. They also offer worship in connection with the establishment of the stele, accompanied by the (whole) household. May it be for the well-being and happiness of all creatures.

NOTES.

As is the case still with Kharoṣṭhī records in general the reading and consequently the interpretation present serious difficulties.

In A, there occurs a very puzzling ligature which is transcribed by Dowson, Bayley and Hoernle as *ts*,³¹ by Bühler³² and Prof. Sten Konow³³ as *tś* and by Prof. Franke³⁴ as *cś*. But the ligature in my opinion is nothing but *cc*. To prove my point it would be necessary to enter into some details. As demonstrated by Prof. Franke in his *Pāli und Sanskrit*, pp. 96-97, the ligature *tś* occurs in the two words *bhetṣiti* and *matṣana* of the Ms. Dutr. d. Rhins. Prof. Konow has further shown³⁵ that the same ligature has been used in

²⁹ As a place name we may compare it with "Damau" in S. Gujarat.

³⁰ Cf. *Balatṛāta*, name of a *bhikṣu* in Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 32 and 119; and *Dharmatrāta* mentioned by Yuan Chuang (Watters, Vol. I., p. 215).

³¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 326

³² See his Table I, Col. XIII, 32.

³³ *SBW*, 1916, p. 800; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 133

³⁴ *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 97

³⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 133. Prof. Rapson, M. Boyer and M. Senart, however, read it as *ts*, see *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1920). But I do not think they are right.

the word *sambat̥sara* of the Kharoṣṭhī documents collected by Sir Aurel Stein at Niya. According to Professors Lüders and Konow it occurs again in the Āra inscription of the year 41,³⁶ and in the opinion of the latter, also in the Pāja inscription of the year 111.³⁷ Again, they both agree with Prof. Franke³⁸ in reading the same in the Taxila inscription of Patika and the Mahāban inscription of the year 102. Besides, Dr. Thomas³⁹ has found the same ligature in the word *sambat̥sarae*, in the dated portions of the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription and the Hidda inscription of the year 28. The identification of the ligature in these seven inscriptions, I understand, is simply based on its likeness to the ligature *tś* occurring in the Kharoṣṭhī of Central Asia.⁴⁰ But I doubt very much whether we could be absolutely certain about this identification in every one of the cases cited.⁴¹ In so far, at any rate, as the ligature in the present record goes, I am not in any way convinced that it represents *tś*. The sign in the Sue Vihār inscription has a distinctive appearance very different from that of the signs in the six other Kharoṣṭhī records mentioned above. The ligature of the inscription appears to stand alone without a congener in the whole range of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions so far known to us; and if shape be our only guide, a look at the chart (no. 82) will show that it remains yet to be correctly identified. In this connection may be considered the following

³⁶ Lüders, *SBAW.*, 1912, p. 825 and trans. *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 133, Konow, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 133

³⁷ Ed. Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 64f. and pl. He reads *sn̐vat̥sara*, but cf. Konow *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 133

³⁸ Loc. cit.

³⁹ *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 636. I may note here that what actually occurs in the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription is not *sambat̥sarae* but *sambat̥sā*


⁴⁰ For information regarding the use of *tś* in Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī my respectful thanks are due to Professor Konow.

⁴¹ As a matter of fact, there is material divergence in form amongst the signs in question. It seems highly improbable, therefore, that they should all have been employed to denote the same group of letters everywhere. Attention may, for instance, be drawn to the signs occurring in the inscriptions from Pāja (loc. cit.), Mahāban, *Journ. As.*, 9 ser. Tome IV (1894), pl. V, 35 and Āra (loc. cit.).

points: The ligature is inaccurately drawn in Hoernle's litho-

graph and Bühler's Table.  As a matter of fact, it is

not so on the original plate, where the left hand perpendicular stroke does not touch the cross-bar. Thus the lower portion of the ligature does not really take the form of *ś*. Besides, the possibility of this reading is entirely precluded by the wavy leg which the ligature shows on its right. Again the upper portion which looks like the English letter *Y* is not to be found in any *tś* discovered uptil now. The *tś* in Central Asian

Kharoṣṭhī is shown as  which, on the face of it, does

not look at all like the ligature in question. Again, in the former, the upper portion corresponds to the *t* and the lower to the *ś* of the same alphabet, which is by no means the case here. In this inscription we have some indisputable instances of letters compounded with *t*, e.g., *tr* and *tv*, in which the superscribed *t* has absolutely no similarity with the upper portion of the so-called *tś*. In view of these facts, which I hope are by no means negligible, we are necessarily constrained to look for a reading more suitable than those hitherto proposed by scholars; and such a reading is in all probability, *cch*. If we turn to the right hand portion of the sign we cannot fail to recognize its resemblance to a *c* of the same inscription (see nos. 12, 14). In fact the resemblance is so striking that even Hoernle who read the ligature as *ts*, could not help remarking that "it is just possible that it may be a representation of *chchha*, which is the form that the Sanskrit *tśa* assumes in the ordinary Pāli. The latter has *samvaccara*, "a year." For it may be noticed that, if the left perpendicular stroke be omitted, the remainder of the symbol very closely resembles the usual sign for *cha*." (pp. 330-31). The

importance of this point, to which our attention must necessarily be drawn, has been perceived by Professor Franke, and I suppose this is what compels him to read *cé* instead of *té*. But as I have already shown the reading of the lower portion of the ligature as *é* is not possible and is based on an imperfect drawing. I therefore see no reason why the sign should not be transcribed as *cch* instead of *ts*, *cé*, or *té*. The perpendicular stroke which is added on to *c* I explain as a contrivance for denoting the *ch* of the conjunct group *cch*, as is e.g. the case with *s* in *sth*. Further, it seems very curious that though the sign for *ts* was not unknown in Kharoṣṭhī, it should never have been used wherever the word *samvatsara* would occur. And what I cannot understand is that a pedantic system of orthography, like the substitution of *té* for *ts* should be adhered to by writers of all localities and of every period. Indeed, this is more than one can easily believe. And what appears stranger still is that the writer of the Suē Vihār record, though under the vigorous influence of Sanskrit, should adopt this highly unusual orthography current in Central Asia.

The first two words in B are transcribed as *vyattadivase* by Hoernle who takes it in the sense of *vyakta-divase*, i.e., "on the aforesaid day." Hoernle's reading has been strongly called in question by Senart.⁴² Further Johanson⁴³ inclines to read *utta* for *vyatta*. But the first letter, of which the upper portion resembles a *v* and the lower has a loop with a roundish tail which is the sign for a subscript *y*, cannot be read otherwise than *vy*. The *u* of this record (see no. 5) is quite different. The reading of the second letter, viz. *tta*, which is endorsed even by Bühler,⁴⁴ cannot also be maintained, because double consonants do not as a rule occur in Kharoṣṭhī. I agree with Bhagwanlal⁴⁵ that

⁴² *Journ. As.*, 9 ser., Tome VII (1896), pp. 15-16

⁴³ *Actes du VIII^{me} Congrès Int. Or.* (Leide, 1893), part III, Sec. II, p. 128, n. 1.

⁴⁴ *ZDMG*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 183, and 294-6.

⁴⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 128.

it must be read as *tr* the identity of which is now well established.⁴⁶ Thus what actually occurs in the original is to be read as *vyatra*, though I have no doubt *atra* was the reading intended. I am not in a position to explain this curious anomaly; but a confusion between the two Sanskrit words *vyakta* and *atra* might have been its source. Cf. *atra divasa-kale* in l.1 of the Shakardara inscription.⁴⁷

In B, again, a word occurs which was read by Hoernle as *samkhakaṭisya*. But the first letter is clearly *dham*. The absence of the horn at the top which is invariably present in all the *s-s* (numbering twenty-two) of the record and the dissimilarity of the letter with the other two undoubted instances of *sam* (in A) shows that Hoernle's reading is untenable. Again, the fourth letter, which is read by him as *ṭi*, is, in my opinion nothing but *thi*. The sign, it may be remarked, has the form of a double cross. The value attached to it by Hoernle was accepted by Bühler⁴⁸ and the sign is entered under *t* in his Table No. 1, XI, 15. Two other instances of *t* are given in the same Table, one of which viz. *ṭu*, is from this record (in *kuṭubini*, C) and the other read by Bühler as *rṭ* and followed by Mr. Pargiter as such, comes from the Wardak vase inscription. Whereas the reading of the second letter, viz. *tu* is correct, that of the other two is not so. The letter *t* which our record presents is materially different from the other two letters, both of which agree in conforming to the shape of a cross. As a matter of fact, the reading *rṭ* of Bühler and Mr. Pargiter has now been corrected into *rth* by Professor Konow in his edition of the Wardak vase inscription⁴⁹. And I have no doubt that he is right, as in Kharoṣṭhi a cross regularly denotes *th*. Similarly I read *thi* instead of *ṭi*, for the simple reason, that it takes the form of a double cross (Cf.

⁴⁶ A. V. Bergny, *JRAS.*, 1900, pp. 419-20

⁴⁷ Banerji, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 68; and Konow, *SBAW*, 1916, p. 795, n. 1.

⁴⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 16

⁴⁹ *SBAW*, 1916, pp. 807-10.

Bühler's Table No. 1, II, 21 and VII, 21, where instances of *thi* are given). The whole word I would transcribe therefore as *dhamkhakathisya*. As it stands it gives no sense. But I submit, the word intended was probably *dhammakathisya*. In Buddhist literature we have *dharmakathaka*, *dharmakathika* and *dharmakathi* in the sense of 'propounder of the law.'⁵⁰ And in early inscriptions a Buddhist *bhikṣu* is very often given this title.⁵¹ When, therefore, the monk Nāgadatta is styled as *dhamkhakathi*, it is but reasonable to think, that the writer really meant to call him *dhammakathi*. The wrong use of *kha* for *ma* must be attributed, unless I am mistaken, to the ignorance of the engraver. This need not surprise us as we have already found in the same line, a similar slip in the case of *vyatra* for *atra*.

The most obscure passage of the inscription occurs in B itself and it runs as follows :

yathipratīṭhanakam pajā ca anuparivaram dadatim.

Hoernle corrects it into *yathipratīṭhanakam kapajam ca anuparivaram dadamti*. He takes *kapajam* to be an equivalent of *kalpajam*; and *kalpajam ca* means according to him, "and customary" which qualifies *anuparivaram*. This last expression he interprets as 'accessories.' But the interpretation is purely conjectural as the meaning assigned to these words is not sanctioned by usage. In suggesting the above interpretation Hoernle himself observed, "I only give it *faute de mieux*. Something more satisfactory may yet be found" (p. 320). I now propose to restore the passage thus : *yathipratīṭhanakam pa(u)jam ca anuparivaram dadati*. Here, *yathipratīṭhanakam* is an adjective of *pujam*. The latter means 'worship' and the former 'relating to the installation of the *yaṣṭi*'; *anuparivaram*, on the other hand, can only mean 'accompanied by the household or family.'

⁵⁰ See Roth and Bothlingk, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, M. Williams, *Sans. Eng. Dict.* and Childers, *Pāli Dict.*, s. v.

⁵¹ Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscr.*, Nos. 64a, 347, 949 and 1267.

But what, it might be asked, is meant by "raising a *yaṣṭi*"? Hoernle has remarked "what the *yaṭhi* is I do not know; perhaps others who are better acquainted with the practice of Buddhism may be able to explain it." (p. 327). Now in our inscription we have *yaṣṭim āropayati*. For the sake of comparison attention may be drawn to the *Divyāvadāna* (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 244) where mention is made of *yaṣṭy-āropana*, i.e., setting up of relic-pillars in connection with the construction of a Buddhist *stūpa*. This raising of *yaṣṭis* is mentioned also in other early inscriptions, e.g., nos. 200 and 962 of Prof. Lüders' List, and the five Kṣatrapa inscriptions⁵² discovered by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar at Andhau in the Cutch territory. But the question arises, what is meant by raising the *yaṣṭi* of an individual, as is no doubt the case here. The point seems to receive some light from an inscription incised on a hollow pillar at Kārle,⁵³ which states that the pillar contained 'corporal relics' (*sa-sarīro thabho*). It has been observed by Burgess that "there is a whole or receptacle cut for the purpose of holding the relic mentioned in the inscription in the centre of a lotus carved on the front of the pillar just where the inscription ends." When therefore, we learn from the Suē Vihār record, that a pillar of an individual called Nāgadatta was raised, it is not difficult to understand that the pillar in question contained the corporal relics of that person. And this assumption appears the more probable when we are assured by its discoverers that the copper-plate closed the mouth of a shaft, hollow inside, like the Kārle pillar. An exact parallel to this custom of depositing corporal relics by raising pillars is furnished by the five Andhau inscriptions referred to above. These are incised on five tiny pillars without any base or ornament. The texts of the inscriptions are almost identical and each of them records

⁵² The transcripts of these inscriptions which have not yet been published were kindly placed at my disposal by Professor Bhandarkar.

⁵³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 55, No. 9.

the erection of a *yaṣṭi*, as the pillars are called, of a certain individual. The following extract from one of the inscriptions will clearly show what is actually meant: *Ṛiṣabhadevasa Sihi[lapu]trasa opasatisa gotra[sa] bhrātri-[Madanena Sihila]-putrena laṣṭi (u)thā[pita]*. Here apparently a *laṣṭi* (= *yaṣṭi*), i.e., a stele of *Ṛiṣabha-deva* is stated to have been given by his brother Madana.

THE GURU IN SIKHISM.

INDUBHUSHAN BANERJEE, M.A.,

Lecturer in History, University of Calcutta.

Nanak began his endeavours of freeing the Indian mind from the shackles of conventionalism by emphasising the unity of God and the worthlessness of all worship that wastes its veneration on stones and rivers, tombs and *dargāhs*. He rejected all formalities as worthless and unavailing, declared the life of the householder equal, if not better, in merit to that of a hermit, emphasised the necessity of labour for the maintenance of one's own livelihood and solemnly proclaimed that the uttering of God's Name with truth and sincere devotion was, the sure and only way to salvation. He taught the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of all men and his first significant utterance was, "there is no Hindu and no Mussalman." He preached to Hindus and Mussalmans alike, his dress was an index to the eclectic character of his teachings, he made friends with Mahomedan saints and universal tolerance was the spirit that lay at the root of all his utterances. If tradition is to be trusted, after Nanak's death his body was claimed by both the Hindus and the Mussalmans for disposal by each in their respective fashion and the answer that was furnished through a miracle proved that Nanak was neither a Hindu nor a Mussalman but that he was both; he was *Man*. Necessarily, like all men who lived in the Spirit, Nanak had known no compromise and he had never been sparing in his denunciation of cant and hypocrisy, blind faith and superstition. The *Quran* and the *Purān*, pilgrimages and ritualistic practices, Jogis, Jangams, Sidhs and Pirs, all met with the same reception in his hands. In short, like Luther and other reformers of mediæval Europe,

Nanak taught that "the system existed for the man and not the man for the system, refused to believe that in and through the system only did man have communion with God and boldly declared that God would receive anybody who faithfully turned to Him".

But he made one condition. It was only by submitting to the Guru that the wandering of the heart was restrained and love of the Name instilled into one's mind. Men could not be saved by themselves, it was idle to say so. The Guru was indispensable. It is undoubtedly true that in many of Nanak's hymns "Guru" possibly means God.¹ Nanak recognised no earthly superior and it may seem that Nanak's emphasis on the need of a Guru need not necessarily mean that he declared the impossibility of attaining God without the aid of an intermediary, especially as he denounced, in no uncertain terms, the reverence shown to all Prophets and Seers² as misdirected and ineffectual. But a more careful study of the hymns of Guru Nanak refutes this conclusion. The True One, the formless, is incomprehensible and He can only be attained by faith and love. But how shall the love of the Name be instilled into one's mind? Nanak says, "the Guru will show the way"; for—

"Under the Guru's instruction God's word is heard, under the Guru's instruction knowledge is acquired; under the

¹ "I am a sacrifice to my Guru hundred times a day, who without any delay made demigods out of men." (*Asa ki War*) Macauliffe, *Sikh Religion*, I, 218, see also, *Magh ki War*, Macauliffe, I, 150

"The Guru is the Giver, the Guru is the House of snow, the Guru is the Lamp of the three worlds. Nanak, the Guru possesseth the immortal wealth; by putting faith in Him happiness is obtained." Macauliffe, I, 279, see also 290

² Nanak did not distinctly repudiate the missions of predecessors like Krishna and Mahammad, but decried the folly of their followers who bestowed on them the worship that was due only to Him, "the primal, the indestructible, the same in every age." He emphasised the insignificance of all Prophets who, before God, were like so many tiny stars before the mighty Sun. "Nanak praised the religion of the Mussalmans, as well as the Avatars and the divinities of the Hindus; but he knew that these objects of veneration were created and not creators, and he denied their real descent from heaven, and their union with mankind (*Dabistan*, Vol II, pp 248-49, Translation by Troyer and Shea.) See also Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs* (Garret's edition), pp. 43-44.

Guru's instruction man learns that God is everywhere contained." ³

How to scale the fortress without a ladder? "The Guru giving me God's Name is my ladder, my boat and my raft." ⁴ How to cross over this fearful ocean of the world, which has no shore or limit, no boat, no raft, no pole and no boat-man? "The Guru hath a vessel for the terrible ocean, and ferrieth over him on whom he looketh with favour". ⁵ So that it is evident that Nanak regarded the Guru as indispensable. Egotism and selfishness could only be forgotten under the Guru's instruction and it was only he who could show the way to God. We may give the essence of Nanak's teaching in his own words:—

"Without the Guru there is no divine knowledge, without faith no meditation;

Without truth there is no credit, and without capital no balance." ⁶

These passages and many others that might be quoted leave no doubt that Nanak after having brushed aside all intermediaries, formalities and extraneous observances that came in course of time to stand between man and God, perhaps unconsciously put in another himself, and thus gave the first blow to the catholicity of his own principles. It may be true that practical considerations suggested to Nanak the need of a supreme religious teacher,⁷ and he might have

³ *Japji*, Macauliffe, I, 198

⁴ *Sri Rag*, Macauliffe, I, 262

⁵ *Ashtapadi*, Macauliffe, I, 270

⁶ Macauliffe, I, 382

⁷ Whatever might have been the motive of Nanak in appointing a successor with sole and supreme authority over his followers, the action was momentous in its consequences. At once the Sikhs obtained a distinctive characteristic of their own. The Guru was regarded as indispensable by almost all the schools of religious thought that arose in Mediæval India, but whereas in all the other sects, there was room for the simultaneous existence of a number of Gurus exercising undisputed sway over their immediate disciples, in Sikhism the Guru was everything. Indeed, till the reformation of Guru Govind the Sikh movement was inextricably bound up with the dominant personality of the Guru and it will not perhaps be unreasonable to say that, till then the Guru meant Sikhism and Sikhism, the Guru.

hoped that the way in which he decided the succession would serve as a precedent and prevent the Sikh Gurus from falling short of his ideals. Yet it must be admitted that Nanak reared up a power, with enormous potentialities for good or for evil as circumstances pointed one way or the other. When Guru Angad was appointed successor by Nanak, indirectly a hint was given as to what should be the qualifications of a Guru and an ideal Sikh. Nanak had proclaimed that prayers alone were not sufficient if they were not supplemented by good acts and that singing the Name and instilling its love into one's mind was the very best of religious practices, while obedience and service to the Guru were the very best of good acts. And all available records agree that the chief points in Guru Angad's character were the love of God and obedience to the Guru. It seems, therefore, that Nanak had found out a sure path for preserving the purity of his ideals and the liberality of his principles but it must certainly be admitted that the expedient was extremely precarious as everything depended on the selection of the right man to the apostleship. With all due deference to the orthodox Sikh belief⁸ that the soul of Nanak permeated all the succeeding Gurus and that there had only been a change of image, it must be said that it is idle to pretend that all the Gurus were guided by the same lofty ideals of Nanak or that they possessed the same force of character. It must certainly be admitted, as Mr. Khazan Singh points out with pride,⁹ that Gurus were always anxious to secure the succession of the fittest man but nevertheless it seems to us that the expedient proved a failure and "the vessel which Baba Nanak had constructed for the salvation of the world almost foundered".¹⁰

* "Whoever does not recognise in Arjunmal the true Baba Nanak is an unbeliever"; *Dabistān*, Vol. II, p. 254. The author of the *Dabistān* further says that Guru Har Govind signed himself "Nanak" in a letter to him. (*Dabistān*, Vol. II. See also Macauliffe, I, 190 and II, 11 and 27)

⁸ *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, Part II, pp. 578-79.

¹⁰ Guru Har Rai—Macauliffe, V, 151. *

Looking more closely into the question it soon becomes evident that the danger did not end here. Nanak gave the Sikhs a God and a Guru, and divested of all other minor obligations, the primary duty of the Sikh resolved itself into two main articles—love of God and service to the Guru, and the future development of the Sikhs to a great extent depended on the way in which the successors of Nanak emphasised the one or the other. It is to be remembered that Nanak had rejected the anthropomorphic conception of God and directed his followers to sing the attributes of Him, who had no attributes, or even if He had, they were such as to be beyond all human conception. This abstract and philosophical theism¹¹ was a thing absolutely unsuited to the popular mind, which in every country, clings to a personal God, to whom it can appeal in distress and complain in difficulties. Although Guru Nanak declared that God's will was predominant and everything moved in conformity to His wishes, yet as his God was too high for the popular mind, there was the danger of His being eclipsed by the living personality of the Guru. The danger was more apparent than real so long as the Gurus conceived their duty in the spirit of Nanak and till the time of Guru Ram Das the Sikh movement proceeded along a uniform line quite in keeping with the ideals and objects of its founder. We must however point out that during this period service to the Guru gradually came to gain the preponderance over the love of the Name; and the hymns and utterances of the three immediate successors of Nanak give us the impression that though the Gurus were alive to the preponderant duty of surrender to the will of God and the love of his Name, they gave a new development to the practical side of the Sikh faith, which later on culminated

¹¹ The conception of God as we find it preached in the *Granth Shāhīb* is neither clear nor consistent. Once we read, "God is inaccessible, unfathomable, altogether distinct from his creation", and again, "God pervadeth creation." Dr. Trumpp discovers two different kinds of pantheism in the *Adi Granth*, a grosser and a finer (*Adi Granth*, Introduction, p. c). See also Lepe^l Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 53.

in the peculiar conception of the Guru as we find it emphasised by Bhai Gur Das in his famous *war-as*. Further we find that service to the Guru is gradually expanded into service to Sikhs in general, the more easily as Nanak himself had given a great impetus in this direction and the foundation was laid for the later rise of the Sikh brotherhood.

The successors of Nanak were careful to build patiently on the main edifice which the genius of Nanak had created and they were never tired of pointing out that the main thing one had to be concerned with was the love of God. "The nine treasures are in the one God's Name"; therefore, "in weal repeat His Name, in woe also remember Him". "The pious man who praiseth the Name reformeth his life and he who loveth the Name is honoured at the gate of the True One." "The Name is a priceless jewel." But "the Guru hath the key of the lock, the heart is the store-room, the body is its room, without the Guru the doors of the heart cannot be opened since none else hath the key".¹² "Let me obey the order of the true Guru and remove pride from within me; that is real worship and service by which the Name dwelleth in the heart."¹³ Even the holy without the Guru fall under the influence of mammon because "it was God's will in the beginning that He could not be remembered without the True Guru".¹⁴ "The Guru is a ladder and a boat of salvation." Thus far the Gurus merely emphasised the main features of Nanak's message. But the demise of Nanak brought his successors face to face with more practical, but none the less vital questions. The two immediate problems were, first, to save the faith from degenerating into quietism and from disappearing as one of the many sects that have arisen and have vanished within the fold of Hinduism; and secondly, to formulate a practical code for the guidance of their followers and to

¹² Macauliffe, II, 53

¹³ Ibid, II, 156.

¹⁴ Ibid, II, 216.

lay down the foundations of an organisation for the preservation and extension of their religion. Nanak had debarred Shrichand from the succession and Guru Amar Das¹⁵ later on authoritatively declared that the passive "Udasis" were wholly separate from the active and domestic Sikhs. Necessity of labour¹⁶ for the earning of one's own livelihood became a cardinal article of the Sikh faith and the first danger was effectually averted. However, the second and the equally vital question still called for solution. But the Guru was there and his sacred person together with the reverence and obedience due to him already supplied the edifice on which the fabric of a Sikh church was to rise. Like the Meccan pilgrimage in Islam, the pilgrimage to the Guru and later on the Amritsar served as a very strong factor in Pan-Sikhism as a religious, and finally as a political movement and the daily observances of prayer united the Sikhs together in the common tie of duty. Later on, the *Granth Shahib* with its peculiar script and language, and its lofty holiness provided a further tie. But as we have hinted elsewhere, in the hands of the three immediate successors of Nanak a new movement came into being, which united the Sikhs in a stronger and more practical tie of duty and kinship and, to a great extent, determined the entire course of the future Sikh movement. Nanak had preached the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of man had come as a necessary corollary. He had contented himself by pointing out the merit of such virtues as hospitality, charity and the like and the obligation of living in a spirit of friendly sympathy with one's neighbours. His successors earnestly took up this aspect of his teaching

¹⁵ Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, II, 50, note 1.

¹⁶ Macauliffe, I 253, note 2. Cunningham mentions a story as to how he found "an Akali repairing or making a road among precipitous ravines from the plain of the Sutle to the petty town of Kiftpur." He avoided intercourse with the world generally but so strong was the feeling that a Sikh should work, he employed himself in the above way for the benefit of the community (*History of the Sikhs*, 110, note 2.)

and equally, by precept and example, sought to inculcate the supreme duty of service and obedience to Sikhs in general and the sacrifice of the individual in the cause of the many. Thus arose the Sikh brotherhood. Nanak had given the Sikhs a God and a Guru, and his successors gave them a Brotherhood and the history of Sikhism is, in one sense, the history of the eclipsing of God by the Guru and of the Guru by the Brotherhood and the final triumph of the last.

Thus we are confronted with two problems—the problem of the God and the Guru; and that of the Guru and the Brotherhood. Taking them in the order in which they present themselves, we have to reiterate at the very outset that anthropomorphism had no place in Nanak's system. He avoided the difficulty between pantheism and anthropomorphism by rejecting the latter altogether. The disciple was asked to walk in the path of God, to remain ever content with His will and to obey His commands. But in these matters, as in everything else, the Guru was to point out the right path, he was to interpret the will of God and the commands of the Almighty were also to issue forth through the medium of his ordinances. The Guru, necessarily, was to be implicitly obeyed. Herein, it may be added, while most of the other sects of the mediæval school, notably the Kabir-Panthis, allowed freedom of choice and inculcated the greatest care in the selection of a Guru,¹⁷ the way in which the Sikh Gurus were appointed, left the Sikhs no choice but surrender to the nominees of the Gurus themselves. It may be contended that the Guru was undoubtedly the better judge as to the fitness of his successor but it is patent that the method of succession added another stone to the already solid block of the Guru's authority. Like the Islamic Khalif or the Tibetan Dalai Lama, he was without a rival and this unique position of the Guru greatly facilitated his final identification with God Himself. Nanak's God was an abstraction, whereas the Guru

¹⁷ Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. II, p. 546.

was a living real personality. The inevitable result followed. It was soon ordained that mere obedience to the Guru was not all. Entrust body, soul and wealth to the Guru, and obey his order, so shall you succeed.¹⁸ So that, the Guru is, as it were, a grave and the Sikhs were, as it were, corpses.¹⁹ They were practically dead for all purposes, save for that of serving the Guru and carrying out his commands. And why? Because it is a universally admitted principle that resignation to the will of God and obedience to His commands is the very best of all that man can do and because the Word is the Guru and the Guru is the Word.²⁰ "The Guru is God and God is the Guru";²¹ there is no difference between them. The advantages of being associated with the true Guru moreover did not merely consist in one's being able to be absorbed in the love of the Name because "he who meeteth the Guru becomes a philosopher's stone"²² and can communicate holiness to others. He reforms his life and saves his family. "What service shall the servant perform for such a true Guru? Let him lay down his life for the Guru".²³ Thus we have arrived at a very critical stage in the history of Sikhism. The Guru has transcended God, or has deposed Him for all practical purposes. Further, as happens in the case of all religious reformers, "the unpretending Nanak, the deplorer of human frailty and the lover of his fellow-men, becomes, in the mind of Gur Das and the Sikh people, the first of heavenly powers and emanations, and the proclaimed instrument of God for the redemption of the world."²⁴ The Guru was thus all, and "to become a disciple is, as it were, to become dead. It cannot be done by words. He must be like a purchased slave fit to be yoked to any work which may serve his Guru."²⁵ The extent to which this

¹⁸ Macauliffe, II, 120.

¹⁹ Ibid, II, 18.

²⁰ Ibid, II, 339

²¹ Ibid, II, 312.

²² Ibid, II, 197.

²³ Ibid, II, 196

²⁴ Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, p 54. The first few *Sōi-atthāls* of Bhai Gur Das's *Kabī* seek to identify God with Nanak, e.g. *Satguru Nānak dev para brahma puran brahm*, (Bhai Gur Das's *Kabī*, p. 8, Bishad Singh Gyani's edition)

²⁵ Macauliffe, IV, 245.

obedience and unqualified surrender to the Guru was carried is evident from the few anecdotes that are preserved by Mohsim Fani in his famous *Dabistān*.²⁶ The Guru asked Jahandas not to wrap up too much and to raise his foot, as there was a wound in it. Jahandas kept his foot uncovered and suspended for three months and he gave up the practice only when he met the Guru again and the latter assured him that the order had been intended mainly as a precaution against the wound in his foot. One day the Guru expressed a passing fancy for a speaking parrot and a Sikh at once rushed to the owner of the bird and bartered his wife and daughter to secure it in order to present it to the Guru. "The perversion of moral judgment," says Professor Sarkar,²⁷ "and the ignorance of the relative value of things illustrated by this anecdote and another that I have omitted for the sake of decency,"²⁸ are extreme ; but so too is the spirit of devotion among the followers of the Gurus." And this spirit of devotion became a great instrument in the hands of Govind, when he gave it a new impulse and a new direction and placed both the God-head and the Guruship on the Khalsa. But, of that more below.

Moreover, when Guru Arjun collected the hymns of his predecessors and of himself in a holy volume and ordained that the *Granth Shakhib* was the very embodiment of the Gurus and should therefore be held in extreme reverence, and when Bhai Gur Das declared that the Guru's hymns were the Guru's image, and further when Guru Har Rai proclaimed that whether understood or not, the *Granth Shakhib* hath within it

²⁶ *Dabistān* (translation by Troyer and Sheu), Vol. II, 285-288.

²⁷ *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, 357.

²⁸ We cannot include the story for the same reason, Professor Sarkar says that it shows that the Sikhs of the middle seventeenth century held the same views about women that the Anabaptists of Münster did. It seems to us, however, that to condemn the whole Sikh community on the strength of two or three anecdotes narrated by an author whom Cunningham characterises as a garrulous and somewhat credulous Mahomedan is, to say the least, unjust.

the seed of salvation,³⁰ God was finally superseded by the Guru and the *Granth*, and the first and the most massive stone dislodged from the mighty structure of Nanak.

Now we come to the second question, the rise of the Sikh Brotherhood. As we have pointed out, the germs of it were already to be found in the teachings of Nanak, though it was only in the hands of his successors that it received a distinct development. With most of the later schools of mediæval religious revival, "universal tolerance was a dogma of vital importance"; and Nanak had said, "regard all men as equal, since God's light is contained in the hearts of each".³¹ "Castes are folly, names are folly, all men have one shelter, that of God,"³² and applied to life, this idea readily translated itself into love of mankind and service to humanity. But the idea was yet obscure and it was only when the successors of Nanak gave it a new direction and importance that it came to be regarded as one of the vital articles of Sikh faith. And the process is to be traced in a two-fold way. The followers of Nanak gradually resolved themselves into a "chosen body" and the contraction of the base strengthened the cohesion of the structure. On the other hand, as love of mankind is narrowed to love of the followers of Nanak, service to the Guru is expanded into service to Sikhs in general and the cohesion is lightened further. Thus, we find Guru Amar Das publicly declaring that the Guru's is the best of all religious systems and that true disregard of the world could only be obtained by his system.³³ "Curses on the lives, curses on the habitations of those who worship strange gods."³⁴ "They who turn their faces from the true Guru, shall find no house or home. They shall wander from door to door like divorced women of bad character and evil reputation."³⁵ Further, Guru Ram Das pointed out that "they who are accursed of the Guru are

³⁰ Macauliffe, IV, 289.

³¹ Ibid, I, 278.

³² Ibid, II, 277.

³⁰ Ibid, I.

³² Ibid, II, 190.

³³ Ibid, II, 221.

accursed of the whole world and shall ever be vagrants."³⁶ He who denieth the Guru is base³⁷ and him who slandereth the perfect Guru, the Creator will punish.³⁷ "Him who meaneth evil to the true Guru the Creator himself will destroy."³⁸ Men should not be jealous of the true Guru, who is especially favoured of God and an insensate fool is he who tries to rival him. God could only be obtained by the Guru's system. In this manner did the successors of Nanak form the faithful into a "chosen body", the specially favoured of God. Again, the individual members of the "chosen body" became exalted in the eyes of each other not merely because they were all following in the same favoured path and were *chelas* of the same true Guru, but because every one of them had become a philosopher's stone and was capable of communicating holiness to others. He had saved himself and his family, and he shall save twenty-one generations, yea, the whole world.³⁹ Even he who met the Guru could confer salvation on another⁴⁰, and therefore every one of the Guru's followers was something of a saint and was to be served and respected as such. "The slave Nanak prayeth for the dust of the feet of that Guru's disciple who himself prayeth God's name and causeth others to do so."⁴¹ Guru Ram Das said that he was "a slave to the slaves of those disciples of the Guru who perform his work",⁴² and it was soon ordained that even salvation could be obtained by serving the Sikhs in general.⁴³ Thus the Sikhs became a separate and distinct class united together in a common tie of privilege and duty. And the Gurus were careful to strengthen and consolidate the union by certain measures of practical importance. The institution of the Baisakhi fair by Guru Amar Das served to bring the Sikhs together at a place

³⁶ Ibid, II, 306.

³⁷ Ibid, II, 301.

³⁸ Ibid, II, 292.

³⁹ Ibid, II, 284.

⁴⁰ Ibid, II, 274.

⁴¹ Ibid, II, 302.

⁴² Ibid, II, 308.

⁴³ Ibid, II,

⁴⁴ Ibid, II, 307.

where they might know and fraternize with one another ; and *langar* or the public kitchen maintained by the Gurus, where sacred food was indiscriminately given to everybody who might desire it, provided a more practical symbol of union. Har Mandar and Amritsar added further knots to the tie and the continued existence of the Sikh brotherhood was fairly secured.

But the most important fact about the Sikh brotherhood was the gradual exaltation of the devoted and pious Sikh to a position almost equal to the Guru himself. As we have indicated above, special sanctity was gradually associated with every member of the brotherhood and the Gurus themselves had declared that they were the slaves of the slaves of those disciples of the true Guru, who were true to Nanak and his teachings. Thus, Guru Ram Das declared,

“To those who obey the will of the Guru I am ever a sacrifice ;

I am a sacrifice to those who have beheld the beloved true Guru ;

I am ever a sacrifice to those who have served the Guru.”⁴⁴ And by their will deference to the wishes of their followers whenever any controversial question of common interest arose, or even in questions which concerned their own household alone, the Gurus proved the sincerity of their professions. Thus, when Chandu Shah, the Emperor's financial minister, offered his daughter in marriage to Har Govind, the son of Guru Arjun, the Guru refused the alliance mainly, as he said, on the ground that his Delhi Sikhs were averse to the proposal, though he was himself fully alive to the dangers of incurring the displeasure of a person of the position of Chandu Shah. The threats and entreaties of the finance minister were equally unavailing and Guru Arjun finally said, “It is the Guru's rule to comply with the wishes of his Sikhs. Their words are immutable. When they once reject, it is not proper again to accept.”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Ibid, II, 329.

⁴⁵ Ibid, III, 80

We have thus arrived at a very interesting position. On the one hand, we have the unconditional surrender of the Sikh to the Guru ; on the other, the almost equally unconditional deference of the Guru to the will of his disciples. On the one hand, we find a disciple even sacrificing his family honour in order to keep his obedience to the Guru, sacred and intact ;⁴⁶ on the other, we find the Guru calmly courting horrible atrocities and even death in order to keep himself true to the words of his disciples. But in the very nature of the circumstances, affairs could not continue long in this manner. The authority of the Guru was incompatible with the predominance of the will of the brotherhood and the one was inevitably to gain at the expense of the other as circumstances determined. The disciple had already become a sacred person and the Sikh religion the best of all. The sense of brotherhood and the love of the Sikhs for each other also gradually became more distinct and definite. As Bhai Gur Das said, " where there is one Sikh, there is one Sikh ; where there are two Sikhs, there is a Company of Saints ; where there are five Sikhs there is God".⁴⁷ What a tremendous influence this idea was likely to exercise on the minds of the Sikhs with regard to their sense of unity and self-exaltation in the eyes of each other, is apparent. The individual Sikh was gradually rising up the ladder and when Guru Har Govind told his disciples, " Deem the Sikh who comes to you with the Guru's name on his lips as your Guru ",⁴⁸ the climax was reached and the Sikhs were rapidly marching towards a new state of affairs. And there were other circumstances that facilitated the change. As happens in the case of all religions, with the growth of Sikhism schools of dissent also grew up together with it. There were the Minas or the followers of Prithichand,⁴⁹ there were the Ramrayis and there were the

⁴⁶ *Dabistan*, Vol II, 286.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, IV, 219.

⁴⁷ *Macauliffe*, IV, 248

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, I, Introduction, lxxx.

Handales.⁵⁰ The first two of the schismatic sects had their origin in contests for the Guruship and it was clear that so long as the hereditary Guruship remained, chances of further dissension were inevitable. Though these sects flouted the authority of the legitimate Guru, yet they regarded themselves as Sikhs of Baba Nanak, and as such, were undoubtedly in closer touch with the orthodox Sikh, than an ordinary Hindu or a Mahomedan. The result was an insensible weakening of the Guru's prestige and authority. Secondly, the *masauds* who were appointed by Guru Arjun as collectors when the voluntary contributions of the faithful had been systematised into compulsory taxation, had gradually come to acquire the position of a sort of organised priesthood in Sikhism and by their dishonesty and oppressions were daily bringing the whole Sikh movement into disrepute. Like the Guruship, their offices, too, had in many instances become hereditary and their open disregard of the authority of the Guru and their general pose as persons of special sanctity and prestige raised them up as a great counterpoise against the power of the Guru. On the other hand, the tribal and caste prejudices of the people were daily gaining the better of the liberal principles of Sikhism. In matters of matrimonial alliances⁵¹ the Sikhs began to be guided more by their caste and tribal predilections than by their faith, and the wily Brāhmaṇa was slowly re-asserting his lost authority. All these circumstances evidently tended to the weakening of the power and the prestige of the Guru. The condition of Sikhism at the time when Guru Govind succeeded to the Guruship was far from encouraging. Brahmanism was already trying to

⁵⁰ Ibid, I, Introduction, lxxx—lxxxii.

⁵¹ Many instances are preserved of the marriage of Sikhs with non-Sikhs, if the caste considerations were favourable. The daughter-in-law of Chanda Shah was a pious Sikh though her father-in-law was an implacable enemy of the Guru and so of the Sikhs in general. The practice had become so general that Guru Govind thought it necessary to pass a special ordinance that a Sikh was always to marry in the house of a Sikh.

grasp Sikhism within its folds and a process of assimilation had commenced. The impulse given by Har Govind towards military adventures had greatly cooled down under his peaceful successors, but not so the implacable enmity of the Musalmans towards the Sikh faith. There were the schools of dissent and the *masauds*; and within the fold of orthodox Sikhism itself contradictory forces were at work. The Guru was still supreme but the Brotherhood, too, was an established fact. Still there were many things that were noble and great, and of these none so magnificent as the selfless devotion to the Guru and the all absorbing love of the Brotherhood. The future of the Sikh movement depended on how these contradictory forces were united under the banner of a common ideal and how uniformity was secured within the system itself in order to better assure the cohesion of the secular movement that was based upon it. And admirably did Guru Govind perform his duty. He completely cut off all connection with the schismatic sects and declared them wholly separate from his own Sikhs and Singhs. He abolished the *masaud* system altogether. He stopped all dangers of assimilation with Brāhmanism by giving his followers a distinctive dress and certain external forms and symbols and by a more sweeping denunciation of the inequalities of the caste system. By these means Govind secured the internal cohesion of his followers and extinguished all forms of dissent. Finally Govind abolished the Guruship and declared that his followers would find it in the general body of the Khalsa, which was also the visible image of the Almighty.⁵³ He was merely a servant of God, and all those who worshipped him would be thrown into the pit of hell. The extreme spirit of devotion to the Guru which had hitherto been the primary characteristic of the Sikhs, thus became a great instrument in the hands of Govind. The devotion to the Guru and devotion to God became united in

⁵³ "The Khalsa is the Guru and the Guru is the Khalsa." Macauliffe, V, 96.

devotion to the Khalsa⁵³, and the Guru was finally eclipsed by the Brotherhood.⁵⁴ All that the Sikhs held dear, all that they had been taught to revere, love of God, obedience and service to the Guru, and love for each other, were all to be satisfied by serving the Khalsa, which, like an all-embracing Leviathan, had become everything in Sikhism. But it must be remembered that it was the Guru that originally bound the Sikhs together; it was the common obedience to the Guru and the pilgrimage to his person that generated the Brotherhood, and finally, it was primarily due to his position as the Guru of the Sikhs that Govind succeeded in bringing about a transformation, so sudden and so complete.

⁵³ Guru Govind made the *Granth Shaksib* the Guru of the Khalsa and ordained that every assembly of five orthodox "Singhs" was competent to act as leaders. Wherever there was an assembly of five Sikhs, he was to be found among them. Every Sikh thus became the standard bearer of his faith and the want of an organised priesthood prevented slackness on the part of the individual and immensely strengthened Pan-Sikhism as a political movement.

⁵⁴ *Vāh! Vāh! Guru Govind Singh, āpe Guru chelā*, "Excellent is the Guru Govind Singh who combined in himself the attributes of both a disciple and a preceptor" The reference is to Guru Govind Singh's initiation of "the five *piārās*" or the five devoted Sikhs who came forward to offer their heads in sacrifice at the call of the Guru and Govind's own initiation at their hands. This was the prelude to Govind's declaration that henceforward any "five Sikhs" were capable of representing the Khalsa and administering *pahul* to others.

Brāhmī Values	Brāhmī c 250 B.C.(1)	Sabaean c 150 B.C (2)	Indian Megasthenic c 200 B.C (3)	Indian Neolithic c 4000 B.C.(4)	Proto- Egyptian c 4500 B.C (5)	Azilian France c 8000 B.C.(6)	Magdalenian France c 8000 B.C (7)	Aurignacian France c 15000 B.C (8)
a	𑀓 𑀘	𑀓 𑀔		𑀓				𑀓
u	𑀕							𑀕
e	𑀖 𑀗	𑀖 𑀗			𑀖			
o	𑀙 𑀚				𑀙			
k	𑀛		𑀛	𑀛		𑀛		
kh	𑀜						𑀜	
g	𑀞	𑀞	𑀞		𑀞	𑀞	𑀞	
c	𑀟						𑀟	
ch	𑀠	𑀠				𑀠		
j	𑀡	𑀡	𑀡			𑀡		
jh	𑀢	𑀢 𑀢				𑀢		
th	𑀣			𑀣		𑀣	𑀣	
d	𑀤			𑀤			𑀤	
n	𑀥							𑀥
t	𑀦		𑀦	𑀦	𑀦		𑀦	𑀦
th	𑀧				𑀧			
d	𑀨	𑀨						
p	𑀩				𑀩			
b	𑀪	𑀪 𑀪			𑀪			
bh	𑀫			𑀫				
m	𑀬	𑀬		𑀬				
r	𑀭 𑀮	𑀭 𑀮			𑀭			
ś	𑀯		𑀯	𑀯	𑀯			
h	𑀰	𑀰 𑀰 𑀰	𑀰	𑀰	𑀰	𑀰		

1 Buhler's Table II Cols II-XV 2 3 Taylor's ALPHABET, Vol. II, p. 320
3 G Yazdani's Table, J HYD ARCH SOC., 1917 4 IND. ANT 1901, p. 414,
and ibid, 1919, p. 64 5 SCIENTIA, 1918, Petrie's Table II.
6. L ANTHROPOLOGIE, 1896, p 389 7. Ibid, 1905, pp 1 and 422.
8 Ibid, 1908, p. 419.

ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET.

DR. D. R. BRANDARKAR, M.A. (Bom.), PH.D.

*Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and
Culture, University of Calcutta.*

All the earliest inscriptions found in this country have been engraved in two different scripts or *lipis*,—one called Brāhmī which was written from left to right as are all Hindu scripts of the modern day, and the other called Kharoṣṭhī which was written from right to left as are Persian and Arabic. The latter flourished in the north-west part of India only, whereas the former was in vogue all over India, including the small region where the Kharoṣṭhī was written. Again, the Kharoṣṭhī died a natural death before the 4th century A.D., whereas the Brāhmī has been recognised to be the parent of all the scripts indigenous not only to India but also to Ceylon, Burma and Tibet. The foreign origin of the former has never been called into question, but the same has not yet been definitively established of the latter. Besides, the Brāhmī is admitted to have been framed by phonologists for writing Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages. The Brāhmī has thus been rightly looked upon as the real ancient alphabet of India. When therefore the origin of the Indian alphabet is the subject of discussion, the origin of the Brāhmī alone is to be understood.

Before we are able properly to discuss the origin of writing in India, it is necessary to know to what earliest period it is traceable. Great injustice to this subject had been done by the rather sweeping remarks made by Max Müller, who though he had great and genuine admiration for the Vedic literature, had little for any of the post-Vedic

period. "If writing had been known to Pāṇini," he says, "some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words. I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing."¹ How bold and sweeping this assertion when a Sūtra of Pāṇini actually contains the words *lipikara* or *libikara* in the sense of 'a scribe,' and when Pāṇini makes mention of *yavanānī* which, according to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, means the 'writing of the Yavanas.' Once, however, the assertion was made, the mischief was done, and whatever protests were afterwards raised by Goldstücker were of no avail, able though they were. And as, according to Max Müller, "Pāṇini lived in the middle of the fourth century B. C.," the opinion was almost universally held that writing was unknown to the Indians prior to B.C. 350.

It was not, however till four decades of years had elapsed that the tide turned and European scholars began to view this subject with a somewhat clearer vision. The credit for taking a more sober view is in the first instance due to George Bühler and secondly to Prof. Rhys Davids who soon followed him in the discussion of this subject. Both the scholars drew freely upon the Pāli Canon of the Southern Buddhists and principally upon the Jātakas. It is no use reiterating here the various passages which they have collected from the Buddhist literature. Most people have already read their books. It is sufficient for my purpose if I state here their conclusions in the following words of Prof. Rhys Davids: "It is evident, therefore, that writing was in vogue at the time these passages were composed, that it was made use of for the publication of official notices, and for the communication by way of letter between private individuals: that the ability to write was a possible and

¹ *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 507.

honorable source of livelihood: that the knowledge of writing was not confined to any particular class, but was acquired by ordinary folk, and by women: and that it was sufficiently prevalent to have been made the basis of a game for children. A long period, probably centuries, must have elapsed between the date when writing first become known to the few, and the date when such a stage could have been reached."² According to Bühler the testimony of the Pāli Canon points to this common use of writing in India during the fifth or perhaps the sixth century B.C. The introduction of writing must therefore be placed in the seventh century B.C. Thus from the fourth century the European scholars have pushed it back to the seventh century B. C. and have thus made a concession of three centuries in favour of the antiquity of writing in India.

Let us, however, see whether we have to stop at this limit, and cannot push it still farther backwards. It is no use taking our stand on the post-Vedic literature, because there is hardly any work of this literature which has not been suspected to contain interpolations. The Science of Grammar, which was brought almost to a perfection in Pāṇini's time no doubt seems to hold out some hopes. And I confess that it is natural to cast a glance—a wistful glance—at this Science for emitting more rays of light, because it is an indisputable fact admitted by all, that the Brāhmī script has been formed by Sanskrit Phonologists for scientific use. But even here, I am afraid, we are not on *terra firma*. The date of Pāṇini is a subject of hot discussion. And although I have no doubt that, with Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar, Pāṇini has to be assigned to the seventh century B.C., the majority of European scholars hold that this Grammarian could not have lived earlier than the fourth. We cannot therefore utilise as best as we might wish the evidence afforded by his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I

have already pointed out that Pāṇini uses the word *lipikara* or a professional scribe once in his Sūtras and refers to *yavanāni*, the writing of the Yavanas. The very stupendous mechanism presented by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and rendered complicated by the almost algebraic symbols which he freely adopts in his Sūtras—would this have been possible if Pāṇini had not known the art of writing? Is such a mental feat possible to a human being, howsoever gifted he may be, without any knowledge of writing? No sensible scholar can, therefore, now maintain with Max Müller that writing was not in existence in Pāṇini's time. And if Pāṇini flourished in the seventh century B.C., the introduction of writing must be placed at least two centuries earlier. But then, as I have just said, most of the European scholars assign Pāṇini to the fourth century B.C., And the above line of argument will not therefore convince them. It is no use alluding to the disquisitions into the Science of Grammar, which no doubt were being pursued prior to Pāṇini's time. I am aware that in his Sūtras Pāṇini refers to the Northern and the Eastern Schools of Grammarians and also to at least ten individual authors such as Gārgya, Gālava, Śakāṭāyana, Śākalya and so forth. These four Grammarians again have been mentioned by Yāska, Pāṇini's predecessor. Mental activity in the sphere of Grammar must have therefore existed long anterior to Pāṇini even. Quite in consonance with this view we find references to philological and grammatical discussions in the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads. Here I only invite your attention to what has been said under the words *svara* and *bahuvacana* in the *Vedic Index* of Macdonell and Keith. But then these references in the Vedic Literature are at best tentative sallies into the domain of Philology and Grammar, and cannot be taken as evidence of the existence of Schools connected with these Sciences. Of course, it is quite reasonable to say that the existence of a Philological or Grammatical System presupposes the knowledge and use of writing, but

mere tentative sallies do not warrant the conclusion. Gārgya, Galava, Śakāṣyana and Śākalya no doubt look like the founders of some systems of Grammar, but even here if Pāṇini himself is pushed down rightly or wrongly to the fourth century B.C., none of these founders of Grammatical Systems can be ascribed necessarily to any date earlier than the seventh century B.C.,—just the time when according to Bühler and other European scholars writing was introduced into India.

We thus see that it is no use ransacking the materials of the post-Vedic period and that it is also no use taking our stand on any matter connected with the Science of Grammar. If we want to find out whether the art of writing was known to India prior even to the seventh century B.C., we must necessarily turn our attention to the literature of the Vedic period alone and try to find out whether there are any references here, not to Grammar, Prosody or Lexicography, but rather to matters connected directly or indirectly with writing itself. I may place here a few of such references that I have been able to pick up for the consideration of the scholars interested in this subject and also with a view to stimulate them to this line of inquiry. Two of the principal features of writing are: (1) numerical notation and (2) alphabet. Let us see in the first place whether we have any evidence for saying that the Aryans of Vedic India were acquainted with numerical symbols. In the Ṛgveda we have a hymn which speaks of *aṣṭa-karnī* cows.⁵ What could be the meaning of the word *aṣṭa-karnī* here? Those who have studied Pāṇini will be reminded of one of his Sūtras in this connection, viz., *karṇe lakṣanasy-āviṣṭ-āṣṭā-pañca-maṇi-bhinna-cchinna-cchidra-sruva-svastikasya* (VI, 3, 115). This Sūtra teaches us that before the word *karṇa* the ending vowel of the preceding word is lengthened, when the compound word denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle. Thus we obtain the

⁵ X, 62.

word *dātrā-karṇaḥ*, i.e., an animal on whose ear the mark of a *dātra* or sickle has been made by its owner. There are, however, some exceptions, and Pāṇini therefore tells us that this lengthening of the vowel does not take place in the case of the words *viṣṭa*, *aṣṭa*, *pañca* and so forth. This gives us the word *aṣṭa-karṇaḥ* and not *aṣṭā-karṇaḥ*. Unfortunately for us Patañjali does not offer any comment on this Sūtra, and Kāśikākāra is, therefore, the earliest grammarian who explains it. He, no doubt, takes the words *aṣṭa* and *pañca* in the Sūtra as *aṣṭan* and *pañcan*, signifying the numbers 'eight' and 'five.' If this interpretation is followed, the word *aṣṭa-karna* will mean 'having the symbol for (the numeral) 8 marked on the ear,' and then we can definitely assert that in the time of the *Rgveda* the Aryans were familiar with the signs for numbers, and that they put them on the ears of their cattle to serve as ownership marks. The interpretation of the *Kāśikā* does not, however, seem to be correct. The verb *akṣ* in the sense 'to mark' has been traced in the *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā* in a passage where cattle with ears differently marked are referred to. The past particle of *akṣ* is both *akṣita* and *aṣṭa* and it is simpler to take *aṣṭa-karṇa* to mean 'with marked-ears.' The word *pañca* of the Sūtra, for the same reason, had better be taken to stand not for *pañcan*, five but for *pañca*, 'spread out.' The word *aṣṭa-karṇa* occurring in the *Rgveda* cannot thus be taken as evidence in support of the symbols for numerals being used by the Aryans. But though this evidence has no weight, the inference that the numerical notation must have been known to them can be proved in a different manner. If it can be shown beyond all doubt that the Aryan knowledge of numeration was of a very much advanced character in the Vedic period, it is impossible to deny them the knowledge of the representation of numbers. Thus the name *ayuta*, 10,000 is to be found in the *Rgveda*, and some *Rks* speak of a still higher number, viz. 100,000 (*śata-sahasrā* in *Rgveda*, IV, 32, 18 and VIII, 32, 18).

It is, however, in the *Yajurveda*, which is chronologically not far separated from the *Rgveda*, that we find a long list of names for very high numerals. The *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* has a hymn which may be thus translated :

“ May these (sacrificial) bricks procure me in this and the next world cows numbering 1; 10; 100; 1,000; 10,000 (*ayuta*); 100,000 (*niyuta*); 1,000,000 (*prayuta*); 10,000,000 (*arbuda*); 100,000,000 (*nyarbuda*); 1,000,000,000 (*samudra*); 10,000,000,000 (*madhya*); 100,000,000,000 (*anta*); 1,000,000,000,000 (*parārdha*). ”

The highest number here specified is *parārdha*, which is equivalent to a billion, i.e. one million of millions. The *Taittiriya-Samhitā* in two places gives an exactly identical list with that quoted above. The list in the *Kāthaka-Samhitā* is the same except for a few slight differences, viz. *niyuta* is called *prayuta*, and *prayuta*, *niyuta* ; and a new figure called *badva* is inserted after *nyarbuda* thus increasing ten-fold the subsequent figures and making *parārdha* equal to, not one billion, but ten billions. It appears that different systems of numeration had already sprung up in the time of the *Yajurveda*, and continued to multiply in the *Brāhmaṇa* period. In the same period, again, we find the knowledge of the Aryans greatly developed in the sphere of arithmetic. Thus the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* sets forth a long list of sacrificial gifts in gold in which each second figure is double of the first. It commences with the figure 12 and then by this increasing geometrical progression reaches up to 393,216. We also have an instance of progression of the opposite kind, where each successive figure is $\frac{1}{12}$ th of the preceding one. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, e.g., divides a day into 15 *muhūrtas*, each *muhūrta* into 15 *kṣipras*, each *kṣipra* into 15 *etarhis*, each *etarhi* into 15 *idānis*, each *idāni* into 15 *prāṇas*. The day is thus divided into 759,375 parts. But the knowledge of the fractions was

known to the Aryans even in the R̥gvedic period. We have *ardha* = $\frac{1}{2}$, *pāda* = $\frac{1}{4}$, *tripād* = $\frac{3}{4}$, *śapha* = $\frac{1}{8}$ and *kalā* = $\frac{1}{16}$. Similarly in R̥gveda, VI. 69. 8, Indra and Viṣṇu are said with joint efforts to have divided 1,000 into three parts (*tredhā sahasraṁ vi tad-airayethām*), which is considered to be a great feat. When the mass of evidence is so overwhelmingly great and varied, is it possible to doubt that the Aryans had made great strides in the domain of arithmetic even very early in the Vedic period or to imagine that they could deal with such high numbers as billions or tens of billions and could penetrate into the intricacies of fractions without developing any system of numerical notation? Even after the Greeks became acquainted with the art of writing, the highest number that they knew was 10,000. The case was worse with the Romans, who could not go beyond 1,000. No reasonable doubt can possibly be therefore entertained as to the Aryans having developed symbols for the various numerals. The same conclusion holds good in the case of the alphabet also. One of the arguments brought forward by Bühler in favour of the antiquity of writing referred to in the Pāli Canon is the kind of the words employed to signify 'to write,' 'writing,' 'writer' 'letter' or 'syllable.' Thus the word employed to denote 'writing' or 'writer' is not *lipi* or *lipikara*, but *lekha* or *lekhaka* which means 'scratching' or 'scratcher.' If a letter is thus scratched or engraved, it naturally acquires permanence. And quite in keeping with this notion we find that the word for a letter or syllable is *akṣara*, (the indelible,) and that the phrase not unfrequently used in this connection is *akṣarāṇi chind* (cut to the indelible ones). Bühler is here inclined to regard the word *lipi* as of late origin and those who have read his works on Indian Palaeography need not be told that in his opinion the Sanskrit *lipi* is derived from the Old Persian *līpi* and, that in support

of his position he says that in the Gandhāra dialect of Aśoka's inscriptions as represented by the Shahbazgarhi and Mansara Edicts, *lipi* is represented by *dipi* and the verbs *dipati* 'he writes' and *dipapati* 'he causes to write' are also met with.⁵ But this view can never become acceptable so long as he or any adherent of his theory has not explained how on philological grounds the Persian word *dipi* can become *lipi*. And what little ostensible support there was to Bühler's view has recently been sapped away by Prof. Hultzsch, who, on the strength of good reliable impressions of the Gandhāra edicts, has clearly shown that the words really occurring in them are not *dipi* but *nipi* and its derivatives.⁶ Bühler's theory that the Sanskrit *lipi* is a loan word, therefore, falls to the ground. But though it is impossible to uphold this theory of his, Bühler seems to be perfectly right in suggesting that all terminology relating to writing is connected with 'scratching' or 'engraving' with which this art was originally associated and that the word for 'letter' or 'syllable' is *akṣara*, because, being scratched or engraved it becomes indelible. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that Bühler stopped at this stage and did not proceed farther to find out whether the word *akṣara* in this sense is traceable in the literature of any period anterior to the Pāli Canon. Especially he should have found out whether this word occurred anywhere in the Vedic literature, which alone, as I have already told you, can be positively affirmed to be of an earlier age than the Pāli Canon. It is scarcely necessary to tell a student of the Vedic literature that the *akṣara* in the sense of a 'letter' or 'syllable' is to be found not only in the *Brhadāranyaka* or the *Chāndogya Upaniṣads* but also in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, not only in the *Aitareya Brahmana* but also in the *Atharvaveda*, and not only in the *Atharvaveda* but also in the *Rgveda*.⁷ It

⁵ Ibid, p. 22.

JRAS., 1913, pp. 653-4.

⁷ *Rgveda*, I, 164, 24.

will be too irksome to quote passages from these works, but this much is certain that the word *akṣara* in the sense of 'a letter' or 'syllable' is to be met with in the works of the Vedic literature in all its stages of development. And we have seen that Bühler is correct in implying that a letter or syllable was so called because it was originally cut, scratched or engraved and was thus rendered *akṣara* or indelible. Have we not therefore evidence that even in the time of the *R̥gveda* the Aryans were acquainted not only with the system of numerical notation but also with the art of writing or rather scratching letters? If we thus consider the matter impartially and dispassionately, we cannot help saying that the art of writing was known to India not merely in the sixth century B.C. as is at present asserted on the strength of the Pāli Canon, but long long before this period,, at least as early as 1200 B.C., the latest date assigned to the *R̥gveda*. This conclusion is not an over-estimate but rather an under-estimate, and evidence of an overwhelming character is now accessible which clearly shows that even in India alphabetic writing is not of historic or proto-historic but of *prehistoric* origin. This evidence, however, I will set forth in connection with the origin of writing in India to which subject I now proceed.

Numerous and diverse are the views propounded of the origin of the Indian alphabet. They may, however, be reduced to three main theories. The first is that originally suggested by Prinsep who first unravelled the enigma of the Brāhmī *lipi*. He was inclined to ascribe the alphabet of Aśoka inscriptions to the Greek source. In this view he was followed by Otfried Müller and sometime after even by Senart.⁵ There can be no doubt that there is a great resemblance between the Greek and the earliest Brāhmī characters. But it is beset by insuperable difficulties based

⁵ Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, Vol II, p 304

chiefly on grounds of chronology. Nobody now believes that the Brāhmī *lipi* originated in the Aśoka period. This view consequently has long since been rejected. The second theory we have to consider is that which regards the Indian Alphabet as having an indigenous origin. It was first suggested by Lassen and afterwards countenanced by Edward Thomas who thought it to be an invention of the Dravidian races of Southern India.⁹ This theory in somewhat recent times found an able supporter in Sir Alexander Cunningham, who made a regular attempt to derive it from a primitive Indian picture-writing.¹⁰ Cunningham was followed by Dowson who maintained more emphatically that the Indian alphabet was an independent invention. The third theory is that of Semitic origin. It is upheld by a good many palæographers, and is now in the ascendant. It was originally put forward as early as 1806 by Sir William Jones.¹¹ Of the advocates of this theory two main classes are at present recognised. The foremost of one class are Deecke¹² and Isaac Taylor¹³ who uphold that the Indian alphabet is derived from that of the Southern Semites in South Arabia, and, of the other are Weber¹⁴ and Bühler¹⁵ who maintain that it is derived directly from that of the Northern Semites, the earliest Phœnician alphabet known to us from the long epigraphic document of Mesha, king of Moab, the oldest Sinjirli inscription and certain characters engraved on the Assyrian Weights, which all have been supposed to be of about B.C. 850. The adherents of the latter view are now so numerous that it has become the accepted doctrine of all experts in Indian Palæography. This theory of the Phœnician

⁹ *Nums. Chro* (N S), No. III, and *JRAS*, (N.S.), Vol V, p. 420.

¹⁰ *C.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 52

¹¹ *The Alphabet*, Vol. II, p. 304

¹² *ZDMG*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 589 ff

¹³ *The Alphabet*, Vol. II, pp. 314 ff.

¹⁴ *ZDMG*, Vol. X, pp. 389 ff.

¹⁵ *Ind. Studies*, No. III, pp. 53 ff; *Ind. Palæography*, pp. 9 ff.

origin of the Indian Alphabet was no doubt first propounded by Weber, but the credit of establishing it on a firmer basis certainly goes to Bühler. It was he who brought all his scholarship and his expert knowledge of Indian Epigraphy to bear upon the subject and has done real service to the cause of Palaeography in establishing some conclusions which are even now unassailable. One of the strongest arguments urged by Cunningham and Thomas in rejecting a Semitic origin for the old alphabet of India is the difference in the direction of the writing. All the epigraphic records of ancient India run from left to right whereas those of the Semitic races from right to left. Unless, therefore, it was proved that the Indians wrote from right to left it was impossible to adhere to any theory of Semitic origin. In other words, before any scholar can hope to propound the theory that the Brāhmī is derived from a Semitic alphabet, he has to prove in the first place that Brāhmī was at any time written from right to left like Semitic scripts and not from left to right as is generally known to us,—a point on which Cunningham and Thomas laid so much stress. And it must now be acknowledged that the adherents of the theory of the Semitic origin have now clearly demonstrated that even the Brāhmī *lipi* was originally written from right to left. Thus Bühler has drawn our attention to the fact that the legend on a coin, originally found by Cunningham at Eran and now deposited in the British Museum, consists of letters which not only have to be read from right to left but are also each reversed.¹⁰ He has further shown that even in Aśoka's edicts single letters such as *dh*, *t* and *o* are sometimes found reversed, no doubt a reminiscence of the writing from right to left. Further such reminiscences have been pointed out by Mr. Wickremasinghe, the learned Editor of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. The students of Aśoka's inscriptions are aware of the

¹⁰ *Ind. Studies*, No. III, pp. 44-5.

rather peculiar way in which the conjunct consonants are engraved. Conjunct consonants, it need scarcely be stated, must be so written as to follow the order in the pronunciation of its sounds. And when a script is written from left to right as we do at present, the letter *t* must come above *p* in the conjunct *tpa*, *s* above *t* in *sta*, *v* above *y* in *vya*. But what do we find in Aśoka's edicts? As a rule the letter that is pronounced first is placed *below* and not above the second letter. Such a reversal of the process is possible only in the mode of writing from right to left. The compound-letters of his inscriptions clearly show that the writing of Aśoka's period was still to a large extent influenced by the old long-settled system of reading from right to left.¹⁷ But Aśoka's inscriptions are not the only instances of this kind. Wickramesinghe has informed us that in Ceylon have been discovered scores of inscriptions whose characters are in several instances cut reversedly or which have actually to be read from right to left.¹⁸ If any scholar is anxious to see such an inscription, he cannot do better than examine Duwé-Gala Cave epigraph No. 7, which is both transcribed and illustrated by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, late Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*.¹⁹ Not only is this record to be read from right to left but all its letters except one have been engraved in a *pratiloma* or reversed fashion. The important fact to note here is that this anomaly is to be met with only in the most ancient inscriptions, i.e., in the Southern Aśoka character, and that there is not a single epigraph of a later date, in Ceylon, as in India, which reads from right to left or in which individual letters are reversely engraved. The evidence thus set forth is strong enough to show that long long anterior to Aśoka the Brāhmī letters were written from right to left and in a reversed form but that shortly

¹⁷ *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 302 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, 1895, pp. 866-7.

¹⁹ Vol. III, p. 204 and pl. XX, No. 1

before his time people had commenced writing from left to right with the result that even in his time writing from right to left had not become completely extinct and that even in writings from left to right the reversed forms of single letters occasionally lingered both in Indian and Ceylon. An exactly analogous case has been furnished by the earliest Greek alphabet called the Cadmean alphabet.²⁰ From the Island of Thera, now called Santorin, have been obtained upwards of twenty inscriptions extending over two or three centuries. The latest have been written from left to right in a Greek alphabet approaching the Abu Simel type, but the earliest are engraved from right to left and in reversed Greek characters thus resembling letters of Phœnician style. What thus happened in the case of the Greek alphabet must doubtless have happened in the case of the Brāhmī *lipi* also. Thus the argument that the ancient alphabet of India always ran from left to right which was urged by Cunningham and Thomas against its foreign origin was completely demolished by the evidence adduced by Bühler and Wickramesinghe. There, however, remained the third vehement advocate of the theory of indigenous origin, namely Dowson,²¹ who boldly challenged his adversaries "to show whence it came," if the Indian alphabet was a foreign importation, no sufficient resemblance between the Brāhmī character and any class of Semitic alphabet being till then established. Then came Isaac Taylor²² who first made a systematic attempt at showing a close correspondence between the Brāhmī and the Sabeian alphabet of Arabia Felix. And he was soon followed by Bühler who showed the still closer correspondence of the Brāhmī with the alphabet of the Northern Semites thus demonstrating as he thought the correctness of the hypothesis which Weber originally put forth but could not prove owing

²⁰ *The Alphabet*, Vol II, pp 28 ff.

²¹ *JRAS.*, (N.S.), Vol. XIII, p 112

²² *The Alphabet*, Vol. II, pp 318 ff.

to the lack of materials when he wrote.²³ Bühler went further and showed that the theory of a South Semitic origin of the Brāhmī alphabet was untenable, because the resemblance of character between the two pointed out by its advocates was often fanciful and assumed most extraordinary changes in the phonetic value of the signs, especially when Hindus had always been very particular, nay pedantic, in matters connected with phonetics. On the other hand, Bühler's theory was not free from an element of doubt, to which Prof. Rhys Davids was the first to draw our attention.²⁴ Direct intercourse between India and South Arabia along the coast was at least possible, though not probable in the 6th or 7th century B.C. So that it is at least possible, on this ground, to trace the source of the Brāhmī *lipi* to South Arabia, though on other grounds it is untenable, as Bühler has shown. "But no one has yet contended that the Indians had any direct communication with the men who, on the borders of Palestine, inscribed the Mesa stone, where the resemblance is greater." Prof. Rhys Davids is, therefore, compelled to put forth the hypothesis that "the Indian letters were derived neither from the alphabet of the Northern, nor from that of the Southern Semites, but from that source from which these, in their turn, had been derived—from the pre-Semitic form of writing used in the Euphrates Valley." Unfortunately, Prof. Rhys Davids has not shown what this "pre-Semitic form of writing used in the Euphrates Valley" is, whether there is any convincingly sufficient resemblance between it and the Brāhmī *lipi*, and at what period approximately it was transplanted into India. Unless some light is thrown on these points, his theory about the pre-Semitic form of writing is wholly conjectural, being unsupported by any known facts. It is this conjectural nature of his theory that, I am afraid, has prevented scholars from perceiving the flaw in Bühler's

²³ *Ind. Studies*, No. VII, p. 54 ff.

²⁴ *Buddhist India*, p. 114.

theory which Prof. Rhys Davids has correctly pointed out. Unless it is clearly shown that India had direct intercourse with the borders of Palestine in the 7th or 8th century B.C., what is the good of saying that the Brāhmī *lipi* is derived from the alphabet that was prevalent in that part of the world and at that period, as Bühler has no doubt done? Nevertheless, scholars have not taken cognisance of this glaring flaw so ably perceived by Prof. Rhys Davids, and have rather precipitately fallen in entirely with the views of Bühler. The triumph for the Semitic theory was thus complete, apparently at any rate, and continued to be so until three years ago²⁴ when the pre-historic cairns in the Nizam's Dominions were excavated in Raigir in the Nalgonda District. On cleaning the pottery dug out here, Mr. G. Yazdani, Superintendent of Archæology, noticed peculiar marks on them, which in some cases were so faint that they would have escaped his notice, being mistaken for ordinary scratches but for the identity of one of them with a character of the Brāhmī script which was fresh in his mind, as he had then only recently finished his eye copies of the newly discovered Aśokan Edicts of Maski.²⁵ The identity impressed him; and as he continued to wash and examine the pots, he found that every one of them was similarly marked. Similar marks had been noticed by the late Mr. Bruce Foote on the pre-historic pottery exhibited in the Madras Museum. Mr. Yazdani naturally visited this Museum, and personally and carefully examined all the pots and potsherds collected here from the fourteen districts of the Madras Presidency and the various sites of the Mysore and Travancore States. No less than one hundred and thirty-one different marks was he able to notice, of which he prepared a diagram accompanied by a brief description of each pot. But this number he rightly regards as by no means final, as pottery from every fresh site may

²⁴ This essay was written in 1920.

²⁵ *J. Hydr. Archæol. Soc.*, 1917, pp. 57 ff.



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add to it, and, as a matter of fact, has since then added to it. It may be mentioned here in passing that the pre-historic pottery dug out in the Hyderabad cairns is associated with Megalithic structures which cannot be later than 1500 B.C. and that some of the pottery exhibited in the Madras Museum belongs to the Neolithic age,²⁶ which cannot be brought down later than 3000 B.C. What is, however, most noteworthy in this connection is that at least five of these marks are identical with the letters of the earliest Brāhmī alphabet. Is it not possible that this script was after all derived not from any foreign but an Indian alphabet though of the pre-historic period? Fortunately for us this phenomenon is confined not to India only, but is noticeable also in Europe. A large number of pebbles were discovered by M. Ed. Piette at Mas d'Azil, on the left bank of the Arize in France belonging to a stratum between the Palæolithic and Neolithic Age. On some of these pebbles symbols resembling the capital letters of the alphabet have been found painted. Piette himself is inclined to see in these symbols the forerunners of the later syllabaries and alphabets of the East, nine of them agreeing with forms of the Cypriot syllabary and eleven with those of the Phœnician alphabet.²⁷ It is therefore, perfectly reasonable to see, in the symbols on the pre-historic pottery of India, the forerunners of the characters constituting the Brāhmī *lipi*. If we now carefully examine the diagram of symbols prepared by Mr. Yazdani,²⁸ it must be admitted that some of them do look like pictographs or ideograms. But it cannot be denied that a fairly large number of these signs look like letters of an alphabet. Five of them, as has just been stated, are certainly identical with the characters of the earliest type of the Brāhmī *lipi*. No doubt, this number is very small, but this is just what might be expected. For how is it possible to expect a

²⁶ *J. Hydr. Archæol. Soc.*, 1917, pp. 65-6, nos. 1 and 2

²⁷ *Ency. Brit.*, Vol. I, p. 724 and Vol. XXVIII, p. 852

²⁸ *J. Hydr. Archæol. Soc.*, 1917, pl. facing p. 57.

large number of identical letters in alphabets which were separated by milleniums? Nor is it reasonable to doubt the identity of these letters precisely on the same ground, namely that these alphabets were separated by milleniums. For we know that some of the pre-historic symbols found in Egypt and referred to a period anterior to 5000 B.C. have been found to be identical with some of the alphabetic signs of the Phœnicians, e.g. which have been assigned to circa. 900 B.C.—showing thus an interval of four milleniums. Coming to our own country do we not find that the letter *g*, e.g., of the inscription on the relic-casket of the Piprahwā Stūpa which may be ascribed to about 500 B.C. has survived in that exact form to this day in the modern Kanarese script? Another reason why we have to consider some of these symbols to have an alphabetic value is that there seem to be signs even for expressing medial vowels (such as we see in Aśoka's time). Thus No. 3 in Mr. Yazdani's diagram seems to me clearly to be *go*, i.e. *g* with the medial vowel *o*. And No. 13 is almost certainly *to*, the only difference being that the stroke indicating *o-kāra* is here attached not to the top but to the middle. An *i-kāra* also appears to have been expressed, as in No. 10, e.g., not, however, in the Brāhmī but in the Kharoṣṭhī fashion. Again, it is worthy of note that the diagram shows instances of reversed letters. Thus, Nos. 4 and 5, 14 and 15, and 18 and 19 give symbols which are reversed or inverted forms of each other. These considerations are distinctly in favour of regarding some of the signs at any rate in the diagram as being alphabetic letters. The only argument that might be urged against this view is that there can be no earthly reason why single letters were scratched on these pots, if we look upon these marks as alphabetic letters at all and that the only theory that appears plausible is that they are ownership marks. I am afraid I cannot agree with this theory, because many of the signs in the diagrams are identical with the signs found elsewhere outside India, on proto-historic and

pre-historic antiquities, e.g. in Egypt and Europe, and these latter have been proved to be alphabetic signs. Secondly, the custom of engraving a single letter which was also the initial letter of a name was by no means unknown to India. A typical case is furnished by Stupa No. 3 at the well-known Sāñchi in the Bhopāl State, Central India. Here two relic-caskets were found, the inner surfaces of whose lids bear, in one case, the letter *sa* and, in the other, the letter *ma*. If we had had merely these relic-caskets to go upon, I am sure the significance of these individual letters would not have been grasped, and they would have been thought to be mere ownership marks. But fortunately for us, they were found inside two boxes, apparently of ordinary stone, each incised with an inscription to the following purport and explaining the initials: in one case, *Sāriputasa*, and in the other, *Maha-Mogālānasa*.²⁹ Is it not thus clear that the single letters *sa* and *ma* of the relic-caskets stand for the initial letters of the names Sāriputta and Moggalāna? Precisely the same must have been the case with the individual letters scratched on the pre-historic pottery of India which, be it noted, has been found in burial or inhumation sites. If there is any scepticism still left on this point, it is completely dispelled, I think by two neoliths lying in the collection of the pre-historic antiquities of the Indian Museum. The credit of perceiving their importance goes to Mr. Panchanan Mitra, who is perhaps the only Indian scholar of the pre-historic archæology of India. While one day he was engaged upon inspecting the pre-historic artifacts in our Museum, he suddenly lighted upon these neoliths which he rightly inferred to be inscribed with some characters and placed before me for examination. One of these was certainly a celt of greenish stone found in Assam.³⁰ It bears apparently four letters, two of which are

²⁹ Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 297 and 298, and pl. 22.

³⁰ No 998 on p. 131 of J. Oggin Brown's *Catalogue raisonné of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta*.

exactly, and one almost exactly similar to those of the pre-historic characters of Egypt, as may be seen from a comparison to the table published by Dr. F. Petrie in a recent number of the *Scientia*.³¹ And what is strange is that they have all been connected by one continuous line as in the pre-historic Minoan epigraphs. The other neolith came from a place near Rāñchi and is a tiny piece of hæmatite stone shaped like the palm of the right hand.³² It is faintly scratched with three letters only, two of which bear fairly good resemblance to those of the Brāhmī *lipi* of the Aśoka period. These were the letters at the ends, one of which was *ma* and the other *ta*. The middle letter, as it stood, could not be read for a long time. Then it occurred to me that the letter *ta* was evidently in a reversed form and the other, viz. *ma*, must remain the same even when it is reversed. Might not the middle letter similarly present a reversed form? I at once held the neolith before a mirror, and to my agreeable surprise found that the middle letter came fairly close to the Aśokan *ā*. As all the letters are reversed, the inscription has to be read from right to left and reads accordingly *ma-ā-ta*.

This neolith, as I have just said, was found in Bihar where there are still some tribes with Non-Aryan tongues, which are believed to furnish a key to the languages spoken by the predecessors of the Aryan conquerors of India. And as was pointed out by Mr. Mitra,³³ there is a word *mahto* to *mahtou* in non-Aryan parlance, signifying 'a chief or headman,' as is clear from Russel's *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces in India* and Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. Could the *Ma-ā-ta* of the neolith be equivalent to *mahto* or *mahtou*? Whatever the answer to this query may be, this much is certain that we have here two neoliths whose neolithic character is undisputed, each one of which bears, not one

³¹ Vol XXIV, p. 440.

³² No. 3177 on p. 124 of Coggin Brown's *Catalogue*.

³³ *Ind Ant.* Vol XLVIII, pp. 63-4.

individual letter, which may be thought to be an ownership mark, but several letters, one containing three and the other four. No scepticism is, therefore, here possible as to these being alphabetic signs and not ownership marks—a conclusion which is further fortified by the fact that they bear resemblance to what we know to be the actual alphabetic characters. Thus the discussion about the origin of the Brāhmī alphabet is transferred from the historic to the pre-historic sphere. This is just as it should be, for even in Europe all Semitic and other alphabets are now being traced to the pre-historic times, and the view is gradually gaining strength that the alphabet originated with the pre-historic man. It is true that Dr. Petrie, the most celebrated Egyptologist of the modern day, thinks pre-historic Egypt to have been the cradle of all alphabets because it presents the largest signary from which the Phœnicians and the Greeks borrowed as many signs as were necessary for their alphabetic purposes; but I am afraid that this is by no means yet an incontrovertible conclusion, especially as pre-historic archæology of India is still in its infancy; and as its study develops as a science, pre-historic India may yield a still larger signary, which was drawn upon not only by the Aryans and later peoples of India but also by outsiders,—the Phœnicians, Greeks, and even Egyptians. Hence at the present day, when characters of the neolithic period have been found in India, if we will still insist upon asserting that the ancient Brāhmī *lipi* is derived from the South-Semitic or North-Semitic character, why not then derive it from the present English alphabet? This may excite a smile, but I may mention in this connection that in 1905 when I was in Calcutta, a young intelligent Bengali scholar showed me a note in which he most ingeniously derived the old Brāhmī characters from the present English alphabetic letters by adopting precisely the same principles according to which Bühler derived them from the North-Semitic signs. And we know that a similar attempt has been but recently made by

Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha of Ajmer.* Of course, all alphabets are at present being traced to one alphabet, which, as I have just said, was invented in the pre-historic period. Hence it is no wonder even if an earlier alphabet can be derived from a later one. But what I emphatically assert is that when symbols of this pre-historic alphabet closely resembling some of the Brāhmī *lipi* are actually noticeable on the most ancient remains of the primitive man in India, which cannot be later than 3000 B.C., and may be as early as 6000 B.C., it is now absurd to trace the Brāhmī to any Semitic script of 700 B.C. Whether the progenitor of the Brāhmī *lipi* was actually indigenous to India or not is a question which is entirely different from that upon which we are engaged here. The evidence, however, as it is at present, points to the contrary direction, because if some signs resembling the Brāhmī letters of the Aśoka period are found on neoliths in India, they are⁷ noticeable on some of the Azilian artifacts discovered in France. But then as I have said, the study of the pre-historic archæology of India is yet in its infant stage, and no systematic⁸ treatment of this question is possible until this pre-historic archæology becomes a subject of serious scientific investigation in India.

* * *Bhāratiya-prāchīna-lipimālā*, p 26 And a paper was submitted to the Second Oriental Conference held recently (Jan 1922) in Calcutta, which, attempted to derive the Devanāgarī alphabet from the Persian script

